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NUMBER TEN

DELAND, FLORIDA

PRINTED FOR THE SUSTAINING MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

1931



Conde Bernardo de Gálvez

DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO THE
COMMERCIAL POLICY OF
SPAIN IN THE
FLORIDAS

WITH
INCIDENTAL REFERENCE
TO LOUISIANA

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY
ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

DELAND
THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MCMXXXI

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TO
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON
FRIEND AND SCHOLAR

FOREWORD

THE Committee on Publications, in sending to the sustaining members of The Florida State Historical Society Professor Whitaker's carefully selected, translated, and edited *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas*, believes that the high standard set for the volumes published by the Society has been fully maintained. Professor Whitaker is an authority on the history of the old Southwest, Spanish Florida of the second period of occupation, and the lands adjacent thereto. The period covered by his study is one of intense interest, for it shows the clash of two cultures, namely, those deriving from Spain and England. The first part of that contact may be said to have closed with the transfer of Florida to the United States, and the second part with the end of the Mexican War. The documents of the present volume begin in point of time shortly after the outbreak of the American Revolution and extend to 1808—a crucial period, both for the Spanish colonies and for the insurgent English provinces and the country to be formed from the latter. It is the period when Spain was endeavoring to adjust itself to the new economic conditions in the colonies and to the complications caused by the government as well as by the border elements of the new United States.

The documents considered worthy of inclusion in his volume were sifted out by Professor Whitaker from great masses of manuscript materials conserved in public archives in Spain. They reflect the policy of Spain relative to commerce rather than the actual commerce. They are, therefore, basic; and as such must be carefully studied if one would understand the period aright.

Professor Whitaker has prefaced his document with a brilliantly written historical essay which, together with the docu-

ments themselves and the careful annotations, forms a distinct contribution to the early history of the United States as well as to the history of the declining years of Spanish occupation in a part of the former Spanish territory now included within the territory of the United States. The Committee takes this occasion to express its thanks to Professor Whitaker for the care he has exercised and the enthusiasm he has displayed in a difficult task, and to compliment him on the scholarly breadth he has shown in his work.

It need scarcely be pointed out that no pains have been spared to reproduce the Spanish documents as accurately as possible, preserving all the peculiarities of the originals including erratic orthography and punctuation. In this, and in all its other work in connection with this volume, the Yale University Press has coöperated to produce a dignified and beautiful book. The Committee wishes to express its thanks to Mr. Carl Purington Rollins and Mr. George T. Bailey of that Press, and to their helpers; and to E. L. Hildreth and Company, of Brattleboro, Vermont, where the actual printing of the volume was executed.

JOHN B. STETSON, *Chairman,*

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON,

CHARLES B. REYNOLDS,

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

Committee on Publications.

PREFACE

IN 1785 the population of East Florida was about 1500. That of West Florida was about 5000. In both provinces primitive frontier conditions still prevailed. Commercially they were far less important than the neighboring tribes of southern Indians, and yet the value of the goods annually imported through the Floridas for trade with these Indians was only about \$125,000. Measured by its volume, the trade of Spanish Florida was insignificant.

As the object of Spanish commercial policy, however, it possesses no little interest. When Spain recovered the Floridas in 1783, the revolutionary era in Europe and America had begun. Economic structures, political institutions, and ideas were changing, and ancient colonial systems could not stand fast in the midst of so much movement. As the greatest of colonial powers, Spain was most deeply interested in the problem of readjustment within the empire. At the same time it was occupied as previously with the problem of defense against foreign aggression. Notable efforts at both defense and readjustment were being made at the beginning of our period, for the king of Spain was Charles III., a true benevolent despot, who surrounded himself with the ablest and most enlightened ministry that Spain has had in modern times. The anti-colonialism so prevalent in France found no echo in Spain, where on the contrary many measures of reform were adopted for the purpose of tightening imperial bonds. Chief among these measures was the Ordinance of Free Commerce of 1778, which revolutionized colonial trade. Regarded in Spain as liberal to the point of radicalism, this ordinance was reactionary in comparison with the concessions made shortly thereafter to the commerce of the Floridas.

It is the purpose of the present work to show why such remarkable concessions were made to such sparsely populated provinces as the Floridas, and to follow the modifications of the system through the strain and stress of the French revolutionary period. The three decades covered begin with the year 1778, when the

recommendations of subordinate Spanish officials led to the reconsideration of Spain's commercial policy in Louisiana and to the adoption of a measure that embraced West Florida as well as Louisiana, and was later extended to East Florida. The period ends with the year 1808, when invasion and civil war in Spain broke the continuity that had hitherto marked its colonial policy.

That few of the documents in this volume have been published in full before is of little importance in itself. What is important is that they show the Spanish government's conception of the nature of the conflict with the United States, and to a less degree with England, in North America; the weapons with which Spain sought to defeat its enemies; the fund of intelligence and liberalism that the Spanish ministers brought to their task; and the reasons for their failure. Some descriptions of conditions in the Floridas have been included in order to indicate the kind of information that the ministers had for their guidance, but no attempt has been made to follow such purely local developments as the large smuggling trade that was built up at Amelia Island. Since the subject of this volume has hardly been mentioned in secondary works dealing with the Floridas and with Spanish colonial policy, it was felt that an extended historical introduction was required.

Two features of this work require explanation. In the first place, Louisiana occupies so prominent a place in it because the commercial system later extended to the Floridas was first worked out for the larger and richer province. Indeed, as far as the court was concerned, the Floridas remained only a tail to the Louisiana kite until the retrocession of 1803, and by that time Spain's hold on the Floridas had been so weakened that there could hardly be said to be any effective policy in regard to them. In the second place, less space has been devoted to Panton, Leslie and Company than might seem to be required by the fact that they had a virtual monopoly of the trade of the Floridas in the period under consideration. The reason for relegating this company to a subordinate position is that our concern is not with the actual commerce of the Floridas but with Spanish policy in regard to their commerce, and that from the beginning to the end of our period Spain regarded the presence of the company in Florida as contrary to its commercial policy and tolerated it only as a temporary expedient. These British

traders have therefore been given only so much attention as is necessary to explain why Spain made in their favor an exception to its already exceptional regulations for the commerce of the Floridas. The company's operations will be described at length in volumes that Miss Elizabeth Howard West is preparing for publication by The Florida State Historical Society.

The material for this volume was gathered in the course of the present writer's study in Spain as Amherst Memorial Fellow (1924-1925) and as Guggenheim Memorial Fellow (1929). Most of the expense of obtaining transcripts of Spanish documents was borne by The Florida State Historical Society, the rest by Western Reserve University. Acknowledgment is here made of the kindness of Sr. Genaro Estrada, secretary of foreign relations for Mexico in supplying a photograph of the painting of Conde Bernardo de Gálvez which is conserved in the city of Mexico. To Dr. James A. Robertson, executive secretary of the Society and editor of its publications, the writer is deeply indebted for assistance in the preparation of this volume.

ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

I. A New Spanish Policy

THE costly provinces of Louisiana and East and West Florida were maintained by Spain as a barrier against Anglo-American aggression. Whether that aggression took the form of armed invasion or of revolutionary propaganda or of contraband trade, these border provinces would serve to protect New Spain by keeping the dreaded foreigners at so great a distance from the mines, populace, and markets of that precious viceroyalty that its conquest, whether military, spiritual, or economic, would be virtually a physical impossibility. It was also hoped that the integrity of other Spanish dominions in the region would be preserved by keeping the Gulf of Mexico a Spanish lake.

In one sense the conflict with the United States which this design entailed was merely a continuation of the Anglo-Spanish conflict for place, power, and wealth in the new world that had gone on almost uninterruptedly since the day of Drake and Hawkins. Boundary disputes, Indian relations, and smuggling vexed the Spanish officials of New Orleans and Pensacola as the same problems had perplexed their predecessors at St. Augustine, and Natchez District was the Guale of this later controversy. There was, however, a new factor in the later phase, one that Spain had never had to contend with hitherto. This was the neighborhood of an independent American power, which devoted itself, unrestrained by the European system of alliances and compacts, to the exploitation of the new world. The American people were rendered still more formidable to Spain by the weakness of their government, which was often unable to curb their acquisitive instincts, as in a measure the British government had succeeded in doing before the Revolution. That the new situation might have appalling consequences was soon apparent to the Spanish government, which realized from the outset that the tide of migration was setting toward the Mississippi Valley. Once settled there, the Americans soon accumulated a heavy burden of resentment against their "haughty and indolent" Spanish neighbors. Hunters pursuing the retreating herds of deer, farmers and planters with bulky cargoes of flour, bacon, and tobacco to

sell, merchants and river-boatmen descending the west's only highway, the Mississippi—all these restless souls, nurtured in the illusory freedom of the frontier, found themselves hampered, baffled, deprived of their “natural rights” by a government which they sometimes feared, sometimes despised, and always disliked. It was the terrifyingly rapid increase of the numbers of these intractable frontiersmen that compelled Spain to modify its colonial system in so far as Louisiana and the Floridas were concerned; and it is this modification, this notable effort to adapt its venerable colonial system to the requirements of an unprecedented situation, that differentiates the conflict of Spain in the generation following the American Revolution from the analogous conflict with England at an earlier time.

It is only in this setting that one can understand the commercial policy of Spain in Louisiana and the Floridas, for the commercial regulations successively adopted for those provinces were but a part of a comprehensive policy elaborated by the Spanish government for the purpose of erecting a new kind of barrier against the new menace of the American west. Previously the court had deemed it sufficient for the protection of New Spain to interpose against its covetous neighbors the prohibition of a desert waste, punctuated here and there by an isolated post. These outposts served rather to assert than to maintain the sovereignty of Spain over the region in which they were established, and it was not so much upon armed force as upon sheer distance that it relied for the protection of New Spain from invasion, smuggling, and propaganda. Great uneasiness had been caused by the extension of French rule into the lower Mississippi Valley at the beginning of the eighteenth century and by the British acquisition of the Floridas in 1763, but Spain's anxiety over these events was as nothing compared with its dismay when confronted by the American menace. The earlier perils had been diminished by alliance with France, which had afforded Spain protection against France itself as well as against Great Britain; and the acquisition of Louisiana in 1762 had again interposed a wilderness barrier between New Spain and foreign soil. With the establishment of the new republic, the devil of foreign aggression returned to the gates of the Spanish dominions with seven devils worse than himself. The wilderness barrier was of no avail, for to the American backwoodsmen the wilderness seemed not a barrier but an invitation. French support could not be counted on with certainty, for France was the ally of the United States as well as

of Spain. The United States government itself, it soon developed, was unable, even if willing, to restrain its frontiersmen. These latter, increasing daily in numbers, might inflict irreparable damage upon the Spanish dominions, either alone or in conjunction with a British fleet. The voluminous correspondence of the Spaniards contains ample evidence that the fearfully growing American west was the chief care of Spain in its relations with the United States and the key to its policy in Louisiana and the Floridas in the period following the American Revolution.

The new policy that Spain adopted in this crisis was to foment the growth of a numerous and loyal population in Louisiana and the Floridas, whose numbers would prevent armed invasion and whose loyalty would insulate New Spain against revolutionary propaganda and contraband trade.¹ The old system of garrisons and missions, which had worked fairly well under other conditions on the northern frontiers of New Spain, was obviously futile on so lengthy and so exposed a frontier as that from St. Louis to St. Augustine and against so hardy a brood as the American frontiersmen. Experience had shown that no amount of missionary zeal could turn these southern Indians to the service of Christ and the Spanish monarchy, for there was probably no exaggeration in the statement of a Spanish official, writing in 1788, that

since the year 1528, when Pánfilo de Narváez first set foot on the coast of West Florida with about 800 men and a number of missionaries, there has never been a single instance of a Florida Indian being genuinely converted and remaining steadfast in the Catholic religion to the day of his death.²

As for the garrisoned posts, of which some fifteen dotted this thousand-mile frontier, they were so weak that they could have been stormed by a few companies of frontier militia and so widely scattered that the Americans could pass at will through the vast intervening spaces. The obvious thing to the military mind would have

¹ Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier*, Chapters III and VII. The connection between commerce and the development of Louisiana as a barrier against the United States was stated clearly and in detail by Juan Bautista Muñoz in an opinion (*dictamen*) of March 30, 1788, regarding the claim of the United States to the free navigation of the Mississippi River ([M. Serrano y Sanz], ed., *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana*, pp. 316-320). The opinion was drawn up in connection with a comprehensive inquiry into the affairs of Louisiana that was then in progress (see below, p. xli and note 49). For another result of the inquiry of 1788, see Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103.

² Document No. X. This document also touches on many other points discussed in the first section of the present Introduction.

been to increase the number of these posts and the strength of their garrisons, and, since the colonial governors were military men, some new posts were established; but no systematic application of this principle was ever attempted by the court. The effort would have imposed an intolerable burden upon the treasury. Louisiana and West Florida were already costing the unwilling monarchy a round half-million dollars a year, and an adequate system of military defense would have doubled the figure. Such a plan was never seriously considered by the court, and to the end of the Spanish period the military forces in these provinces served only to assert the sovereignty of Spain, maintain order, and prevent rebellion.

What missionary and soldier could not do might be accomplished by trade and toleration. Spanish ministers now resolved to modify in favor of Louisiana and Florida the laws relating to commerce, religion, and immigration, hoping that a mild and beneficent rule would people its desert wastes and convert both the original creoles and the new alien immigrants into loyal, dependable subjects, a living barrier for the defense of New Spain. The super-subtlety of the Spanish mind appears in these measures, for one of their chief purposes was to attract to Spanish territory the very American frontiersmen for fear of whom the system was adopted. For the purpose of this Introduction we do not need to inquire further into the data and conceptions that lay at the basis of this policy or to follow its development. We are concerned with only one aspect of it, and that is the relation of commerce to the larger system, and the successive changes in the regulations drawn up by Spain for the commerce of the Floridas and Louisiana in the period 1782-1808.

II. *The Ordinance of Free Commerce and the Cédula of 1782*

A WELL-KNOWN writer on the history of European colonization characterized the liberal commercial regulations granted by Spain in the eighteenth century to the Floridas and Louisiana and certain others of its possessions as an *experimentum in anima vili*, that is to say, as experimental measures which it was designed to extend to the rest of the empire if they proved successful.³ A careful study

³ Leroy Beaulieu, *Colonisation chez les peuples modernes* (4th ed., Paris, 1891), pp. 32, 33. See Whitaker, "The Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII. 190-203.

of such of these regulations as applied to the Floridas and Louisiana does not support this view. On the contrary, the measures suggest not the laboratory but the hospital. The apparent liberalism of Spain toward these provinces was dictated solely by considerations of expediency, by the necessity of strengthening them against the Anglo-American menace to the north and east. Far from planning to extend the new measures to the rest of the empire, Spain proposed to assimilate the commerce of these diseased provinces to its typical system of monopoly as soon as a temporary liberality had strengthened them sufficiently to stand the shock. In the meantime, they were cut off from intercourse with the rest of the colonies; were, so to speak, quarantined until they should be fit to associate freely with the healthier portions of the empire.

The writer mentioned above may have been led astray by the title of a notable measure adopted by Spain at the beginning of our period. This is the *Reglamento de Comercio Libre*, or Ordinance of Free Commerce, promulgated in 1778.⁴ The phrase "Free Commerce" gave the measure a specious stamp of liberalism, and the coincidence of the date might suggest that it was conceived in the spirit of Adam Smith's recently published *Wealth of Nations*. As a matter of fact, the ordinance was conceived in the very spirit of nationalistic monopoly and minute regulation against which Smith's book was written, for it still upheld the hoary principle that Spain's colonies must trade with Spain alone. It was called the Ordinance of Free Commerce because it abolished the old monopoly of Cadiz and permitted most of the principal ports of the kingdom to trade with many ports in the colonies. It contained nothing, however, that we have understood since the day of Adam Smith to be implied by the phrase "free trade"; nor did it contain any principle resembling the apparent liberalism of the regulations adopted by Spain within the next two decades for the commerce of the Floridas and Louisiana.

The considerations that guided the Spanish court in our period are admirably stated in a report⁵ on commerce and manufactures

⁴ G. Desdèvises du Dezert, "La richesse et la civilisation espagnoles au XVIII^e siècle," *Revue Hispanique*, LXXIII. 188, 189; Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man*, pp. 196-199; Antúnez y Acevedo, *Memorias Históricas*, pp. 111, 112. The Spanish equivalent for "free trade" is not "comercio libre" but "libre cambio."

⁵ A.H.N., Est., "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," May 16, 1794. Gardoqui proposed the adoption of further protective measures modeled on the English Navigation Acts and Colbert's system. His recommendations were supported by Campomanes. The proposal to encourage cotton manufacturing was

drawn up in 1794 by the secretary of the treasury, Diego de Gardoqui. Spain's trade with foreign countries, he said, showed an unfavorable balance of 20,000,000 pesos a year, and almost half of this sum represented foreign articles imported for reshipment to America; but commerce with its colonies not only wiped out this loss but also yielded the mother country a net profit of some 9,000,000 pesos a year. His conclusion was that Spain would soon grow rich at this rate provided it maintained the existing monopoly of colonial commerce, that is to say, the system set up by the ordinance of 1778. When such a view of Spain's interests was taken by the liberal Gardoqui and supported by the still more liberal Conde de Campomanes, it is easy to understand the reluctance with which exceptions to the general rule of monopoly were made in favor of the Floridas and Louisiana, for such exceptions endangered that precious accretion of 9,000,000 pesos a year to the wealth of Spain. Mercantilism was in the saddle at Madrid, and only the extraordinary situation in the border colonies with which we are concerned induced the court to vary its system in their case. In reading the following pages one should keep Gardoqui's report in mind, for it represents the dominant Spanish view throughout our period.

Three of the articles of the ordinance of 1778 related to Louisiana (the Floridas had not yet been recovered by Spain). These articles merely confirmed privileges granted that province by a decree of March 23, 1768, and by subsequent orders. Under the system thus established, trade was permitted between the habilitated ports⁶ of Spain and New Orleans, the only port of Louisiana. National goods were exempted from the payment of duty either upon exportation from Spain or upon importation into Louisiana, and the produce of the colony could be exported to Spain duty free, although a duty of two per cent (originally four per cent) was exacted upon its importation into Spain. Furs were exempted from

opposed by Godoy, on the ground that it would injure the woolen industry and the stock farmers dependent upon it. He also objected to any innovation that might offend Great Britain, Holland, and Prussia in the existing crisis. The king and council agreed with Godoy. It should be noted that Gardoqui was not alone in his admiration for the English Navigation Acts, which were in high esteem throughout western Europe at this time. For instance, a mercantilist reaction had set in in France about 1787, had been reinforced by the Revolution, and had resulted in the adoption of the French Navigation Act of 1793. For this subject, see F. L. Nussbaum, *Commercial Policy in the French Revolution*, p. 44 and *passim*.

⁶ See Documents, note 4.

the payment of this duty. Since most of the inhabitants of Louisiana were French and were accustomed to French goods, they derived but little benefit from these concessions, for French goods, in common with all others of foreign origin, could be imported only by way of Spain, where they were required to pay a fifteen per cent import duty, with no drawback upon re-exportation. It was estimated by the Spanish consul at Bordeaux, Manuel de las Heras,⁷ that this duty, together with the expenses resulting from the greater length of the voyage, port duties, loading, unloading, and storage made French and British goods laid down in Louisiana forty per cent dearer than if they had been brought directly to the province from the country of origin. The situation was the same where the Indians were concerned, for they too preferred French or British goods to Spanish goods, to which they were unaccustomed and for which they were unwilling to pay the exorbitant prices required by Spanish commercial restrictions.

Such were the considerations called to the attention of the court in 1778 by Consul Las Heras and by the governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez.⁸ If Louisiana had been in the heart of the Spanish dominions, its inhabitants would probably have been treated with no more consideration than were the owners of vineyards in Mexico; but Louisiana was a border province, Spain's outpost against the oncoming Anglo-Americans. Above all, these Anglo-Americans had easy access to the most populous parts of the province by virtue of the right of free navigation of the Mississippi River accorded them by the treaty of 1763 between Great Britain and France. As the Governor of Louisiana himself wrote in 1778:

English ships stocked with the necessary articles sail the river freely, and, according to the treaties of peace, they cannot be prevented from anchoring and mooring wherever they see fit. And what inhabitant having at the door of his house what he needs will fail to take advantage of the opportunity to obtain it, since there are no witnesses to accuse him of fraud? What vigilance, what force, or what body of customs officers would be able to keep watch and prevent this abuse over a distance of one hundred leagues of river whose banks are fringed with habitations?⁹

The integrity of the colonial officials, the interests of the royal treasury, the loyalty of the colonists, trade and friendship with the neighboring Indians—all were imperiled; and a commercial

⁷ See Documents, note 2.

⁸ See Documents Nos. I and II.

⁹ Document No. II.

system designed to exclude foreign influence from Louisiana by the same rules that prevailed in the other Spanish colonies was merely hastening the economic conquest of the province by the Anglo-Americans.

These representations were made at a most favorable juncture, for Spain was on the point of joining with France in the war against England. Despite complications in both Europe and America, the opportunity to give the traditional enemy a body blow was tempting. In the scale against the declaration of war were European interests with which we are not concerned, and there was also the prudent reluctance of Spain to aid in the establishment of an independent American state. When, in 1779, Spain finally decided to fight, its war aims in America were to recover the Floridas and put an end to British contraband trade in the Gulf of Mexico and on the Mississippi.¹⁰ So far as America was concerned, the war was highly successful. West Florida was conquered by Bernardo de Gálvez in the campaigns of 1779-1781, East Florida was ceded to Spain in 1783, and British commerce, licit and illicit, disappeared abruptly from the Mississippi. A treaty with Great Britain (September 3, 1783) confirmed Spain in the possession of both the Floridas, and by a royal order (June 26, 1784), the Mississippi River was closed to the trade and navigation of all nations but Spain.¹¹

The commercial implications of this achievement were far-reaching, but it was soon clear that Spain had overreached itself. While the court might point with pride to the extirpation of Great Britain's formidable smuggling trade on the Mississippi, this achievement spelled disaster for the people and province of Louisiana. Spanish vessels were rare and Spanish merchants rarer at New Orleans. When, even before the outbreak of war, wholesale confiscations drove the colony's chief customer away, commerce came to a standstill. If it had not been for the decision of the treasury officials of Louisiana to assume the responsibility of throwing the commerce of the colony open to France for the duration of the war, utter ruin would have been its lot. So great was the scarcity even of foodstuffs that the meager supplies rafted down the river from the infant settlements of the American west were welcomed as a godsend at New Orleans. Again the colonial officials adopted an emergency measure, permitting the Americans to enjoy the free

¹⁰ Whitaker, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 68; S. F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, p. 52.

navigation of the Mississippi until the end of the war. Both measures were approved by the court, which also admitted two French commercial agents to New Orleans.¹²

There was a lesson to be learned from this war and under the tutorship of Bernardo de Gálvez the Spanish government proved an apt pupil. The lesson was that not merely the prosperity but the very existence of Louisiana, the barrier to New Spain, depended upon commercial intercourse with some foreign nation. Great Britain, France, and the United States were able to meet the needs of this colony, but Spain itself was not. This theorem demonstrated, the corollary was established without difficulty. "The only suitable measure," said Gálvez, "is free trade with the French colonies and with France itself." Once peace was restored, it would be folly to permit the revival of British trade with the colony, for its destruction had been one of the objects of the war. Hardly less unthinkable was toleration of trade with citizens of the United States—"Anglo-Americanos," the Spaniards often called them. A very apt phrase this was, for it suggested quite properly that they had not ceased in a moment to be Englishmen by becoming free, that in all probability they still retained the characteristics that had made England for two centuries the nightmare of the Spanish court—political and religious heresy, abundant energy, restless ambition, a deplorable aptitude for trade and traffic, and a perfect genius for smuggling. Only the feebleness of their government and their navy and the scanty population of their settlements on the waters of the Mississippi made them seem for the moment less formidable neighbors than the British. And so, by the process of elimination, Gálvez's point was proved: The only suitable measure was to permit Louisiana to trade with the French colonies and France. The measure was all the more natural since the colony had been received as a free gift from France, since the majority of its inhabitants were French, and since France, Roman Catholic and absolutist, was the ally of Spain.

The force of these statesmanlike considerations was increased

¹² Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III. 105, 106. The agreement of 1776 between France and Spain, which is mentioned by Gayarré, permitted a narrowly limited trade between Louisiana and the French West Indies. It created a situation that was unsatisfactory both to the Spanish government and to the inhabitants of Louisiana (see Document No. III). The French commercial agents, however, remained at New Orleans for several years after the end of the war. The Library of Congress has transcripts of their correspondence. In the negotiations at Bâle (1795), France made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain their readmission to Louisiana.

by the undercurrent of family connections. One of the chief branches of commerce in Louisiana was the fur trade. The superintendent of Indian affairs in Louisiana was one Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent,¹³ the head of an influential creole family of the province, who, like many of his fellow creoles, had entered the service of Spain. From his dealings with the Indians he was aware of the rich profits that might be obtained from the fur trade, all the more since the recovery of the Floridas enabled Spain to take over the trade with the southern Indians (Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee) that had been carried on by the British through Pensacola, Mobile, and St. Augustine. Now it happened that Maxent's daughter was the wife of Governor Gálvez, and that Governor Gálvez's uncle, José de Gálvez,¹⁴ was colonial secretary, a staunch friend of France and, after the chief minister, Floridablanca, the most influential of the king's advisers.

Under these circumstances matters were soon arranged to the satisfaction of the Gálvez clan. Maxent journeyed to Spain and in October, 1781, laid at the feet of Charles III. a memorial urging that Louisiana be permitted to trade with France.¹⁵ At the same time he pressed his private project for the fur trade, obtaining on November 30, 1781, a contract with the king whereby he was permitted to send 380,000 pesos' worth of goods to West Florida and Louisiana. Of this amount 200,000 pesos' worth was to be used for the Indian trade on his private account, and the rest was to be reserved for the use of the king in treating with the Indians. The goods were to be obtained in Spain if possible, otherwise in France. Needless to say, suitable goods were not found in Spain, and Maxent proceeded to France where he made his purchases. The sequel of this auspicious beginning was most unfortunate for Maxent, but that need not be related here, as it has to do with British sea-power.¹⁶ Enough has been said to show how family influence combined with *haute politique* to produce a measure unique in the annals of Spanish commercial legislation. Once Maxent's contract was signed, Louisiana had to be thrown open to French commerce in order to justify a measure that savored strongly of nepotism. The commercial *cédula* of January, 1782,¹⁷ granting

¹³ He made use of the Spanish form of his name, Gilberto Antonio de Maxent, in communications to the government. See Document No. III, and note 16.

¹⁴ Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, pp. 1-12.

¹⁵ Document No. III.

¹⁶ See Documents, note 16.

¹⁷ Document No. IV. Antúñez y Acevedo, *op. cit.*, p. 37, says that the privi-

unprecedented privileges to the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida, was the necessary complement of the contract of 1781 which conferred an extraordinary favor upon the father-in-law of the nephew of the colonial secretary.

The *cédula* of 1782 provided that for a period of ten years, dating from the publication of the treaty of peace, Spanish subjects, resident either in Spain or in Louisiana or West Florida, might trade freely between New Orleans and Pensacola and the ports of France in which Spanish consuls resided. In cases of urgent necessity, certified by the governor and intendant of those provinces, trade with the French West Indies was also permitted. Goods of Spanish but not of foreign origin might be re-exported from New Orleans and Pensacola to other Spanish colonies. The trade at both ports was subjected to a six per cent duty on imports and exports, with an additional two per cent duty on exports sent to other Spanish colonies. Negroes might be imported duty free, although produce and specie exported for their purchase were required to pay the usual six per cent duty. The exportation of specie for any other object than the slave trade was prohibited under heavy penalties. For a period of two years, Spanish subjects in Louisiana were exempted from the payment of the usual fees for the purchase of foreign ships. Finally, all privileges previously granted were confirmed without any limitation of time.

Such was the measure by which Spain hoped to foment the development of Louisiana and West Florida, control the neighboring Indian tribes, and erect a barrier of numerous and loyal subjects against the incursions of the British and Americans. It was hoped that on the expiration of the *cédula* at the end of ten years Spanish manufacturers, merchants, and traders would be able to take over the whole commerce of the colony. The measure was the work of many hands, not only of the colonial secretary's relatives, who were distinguished by name in the preamble, but also of other devoted and intelligent Spaniards, such as Consul Las Heras of Bordeaux and Martín Navarro, the intendant of Louisiana.¹⁸ As so often happens, a carefully matured measure produced results quite different from those intended by its framers. The rapid growth of the border provinces was not obtained. They grew indeed, but not half so rapidly as the settlements of the American west. As a barrier,

lege of direct trade between the colonies and France "*hasta entonces no habia tenido exemplar.*"

¹⁸ See Documents, note 95.

they were of less value to Spain at the end of the ten-year period stipulated in the *cédula* than at the beginning. Again, Spanish merchants and manufacturers, hampered by the lack of skilled navigators and an adequate merchant marine,¹⁹ were no more able to supply the colony in 1793 than they had been in 1783. Nor did the *cédula* even succeed in establishing French commerce throughout the two provinces, for, after the failure of Maxent's project, the Indian trade of West Florida fell into the hands of British traders. In Louisiana the *cédula* was more successful in promoting trade with France; but even in this case it was reported on good authority that a large part of the goods sent from French ports came originally from England, where the cost of production was lower.²⁰

Finally, the fostering of intercourse between Louisiana and France proved a two-fold misfortune for Spain, since, on the one hand, it kept French influence alive in the colony and gave rise to embarrassing ebullitions in Lower Louisiana in the time of Genêt; and since, on the other, it promoted French commerce and French interest in the province and so gave substance to the sentimental desire to recover the lost province.²¹ The train of events that culminated in the retrocession of 1803 began with the *cédula* of 1782.

III. *Panton, Leslie and Company*

EAST FLORIDA, which was not in Spain's possession when the *cédula* of 1782 was drawn up, was not included within its operation. Acquired by the definitive treaty of September, 1783, and occupied by Spain in June, 1784, the province received little attention from Spanish makers of commercial regulations until the following year. By that time a British firm trading with the Florida Indians had won the heart of the governor of St. Augustine, Vicente Manuel de Céspedes, who had showered the court with representations in its favor. At about the same time, the court began to receive despatches from Louisiana and West Florida in favor of the same firm, Panton, Leslie and Company, and of the house of Mather and Strother

¹⁹ Document No. VI gives some idea of Spanish navigation at this period. For information regarding the merchant marine, see Documents, note 10. See also Paul S. Taylor, "Spanish Seamen in the New World during the Colonial Period," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V. 631-661.

²⁰ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21, Las Heras to José de Gálvez, Bordeaux, February 9, 1785. This despatch was responsible for the royal order of May 9, 1785 (see Documents, note 23).

²¹ See p. xlv of this Introduction.

at Mobile.²² The arguments contained in all the communications from these colonial officials were substantially the same. During the British period, it was said, these merchants had controlled the trade of the southern Indians through the Floridas, and were, in consequence, thoroughly familiar with the intricate mechanism of the trade from London to the heart of the Indian country and back. Quite as indispensable as British traders were British goods, which the Indians preferred both for their familiarity and for their unique combination of high quality with low cost.

The memory of an unpleasant past and the prospect of a new peril sharpened the Spaniards' realization of the importance of keeping the Indians satisfied. The recollection of the dangerous days of old St. Augustine, when hostile Indians kept the garrison prisoner in its own fort, was still painfully vivid in the minds of Spanish officials of Florida. If the neighboring Indians were not kept quiet, the Spaniards in these isolated presidios might die of something besides boredom. Nor was this all, for now American traders from Georgia, Watauga, and Cumberland were flocking into the Indian country with projects as gaudy as the wares they bartered, promising to drive the sluggish Spaniards into the gulf in order that deerskins might bring a higher price. Reporting all this, the colonial officials fervently prayed that the British merchants might be suffered to remain in the Floridas for the present, since they alone could undersell the Americans, avert Indian hostility from the exposed garrisons and helpless planters, and assure the retention of the border colonies.

In view of these representations, the court began to revise its plans. Bernardo de Gálvez, now captain general of Cuba as well as of Louisiana and the Floridas, was consulted. When the toleration of British merchants in Florida was first proposed in 1783, he condemned the project on the ground that the merchants would look to their own interests, not Spain's, and that French goods would do well enough for the trade;²³ but it must be remembered that at that time there was still some prospect that his father-in-law, Maxent, might carry out his ambitious plan of supplying the southern Indians with goods brought from France. By 1785, when the matter

²² Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-46. The volume on Pantón, Leslie and Company in preparation by Miss Elizabeth Howard West makes it unnecessary for the present editor to do more than indicate the place of this company in the general commercial scheme of Spain.

²³ Document No. V.

was again referred to him, Maxent's plan had gone up in smoke. This time the captain general advised toleration of the British traders as a measure of frontier defense against the United States.

His advice was accepted and in 1786 two royal orders were dispatched, one to St. Augustine,²⁴ the other to Pensacola.²⁵ The former directed the governor of East Florida to permit Panton, Leslie and Company to remain there provisionally and carry on its trade in Indian goods. The latter granted permission to "subjects" in the province of West Florida to bring one or two ships a year from neutral ports with goods for the Indian trade. This permission was interpreted by the colonial officials to authorize Mather and Strother and, later, Panton, Leslie and Company, to bring British goods in British ships from the British West Indies to Pensacola and Mobile. Subsequently direct importations from London were permitted. The chief limitations imposed upon the Britons were that they must confine themselves strictly to the Indian trade, both as to imports and exports; that they must take an oath of loyalty to the crown, although they still retained their British nationality; that they must pay a six per cent duty on imports and exports; and that they must sell goods to the Indians at the prices agreed upon in congresses held at Pensacola and Mobile in 1784. It was stipulated that in case of war between Spain and Great Britain they should be given a year's time in which to liquidate their affairs and withdraw their property from the Floridas. It will be observed that no monopoly or exclusive privilege was granted by the court, either for sea-borne commerce or for traffic with the Indians; but as the colonial officials interpreted the order, no one but these two firms received a permit to import English goods,²⁶ and without such a permit it was impossible to compete with them.

²⁴ A.H.N., Est., leg. 3901, summary of correspondence relating to Panton, Leslie and Company, beginning with a citation of José de Gálvez's resolution on Céspedes's despatch No. 4 (Havana, March 22, 1784) and ending with a citation of the royal order of May 8, 1786, mentioned in the text. This summary shows that, on the recommendation of the retiring British governor, Tonnyn, and of the incoming Spanish governor, Céspedes, who was still in Havana, the king ordered on May 30, 1784, that the company be tolerated at St. Augustine for the time being. The implication was that it would soon be required to withdraw.

²⁵ A.G.I., P.C., leg. 176-2, Sonora to the Governor of Louisiana, Aranjuez, March 30, 1786.

²⁶ The customs officials of West Florida actually asserted in 1799 that the king had granted Panton, Leslie and Company a monopoly of both the import and export trade at Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Marks (*ibid.*, Sto. Dom., 87-3-22, "Nota" appended to a report of imports and exports at Mobile and Pensacola

It was with great reluctance that the Spanish government accorded these privileges.²⁷ The concession was sharply criticized by some of the colonial secretary's colleagues,²⁸ and frequent efforts were made in the course of the next few years to find some means of supplying these strategically important Indian tribes with Spanish goods through Spanish traders.²⁹ It was manifest, however, that Spanish manufacturers were quite as unable to suit the tastes and pocketbooks of the Indian gunmen as of the Louisiana creoles; and it was true, as the court was often assured, that no Spanish traders were available. The court might indeed have bought goods on its own account in France and England and sent them to the Floridas to be traded to the Indians; but then the only traders who knew how to do business with the Indians were British, and, as Governor Miró said, they would certainly see to it that the Great Father at Madrid got no thanks from the Indians for his pains and expense. There was no alternative to the toleration of the British merchants except a complete overhauling of the whole system of Indian trade. In view of the delicate situation on the Indian frontier the time was not ripe for such revolutionary measures, nor was the Spanish government willing to bear the financial burden that they would entail. The result was that, however reluctantly, the court renewed again and again the provisional permission granted these Britons to remain in the Floridas, and that, instead of curtailing, it amplified their privileges. Of these amplifications the most important was

enclosed in despatch No. 347 from Morales to Soler, November 30, 1799). This was of course an error.

²⁷ It is an interesting question how far Spanish policy on the southwestern frontier of the United States was influenced by British policy on the northwestern frontier. The two policies resembled each other rather closely, but it would seem that the resemblance was due rather to the similarity of the circumstances that the two powers had to face than to conscious imitation. While it is true that Spain was apparently influenced by British precedent in the management of Indian affairs, the precedent that was followed was that of British Florida before the American Revolution, not that of British Canada after the Revolution. This is indicated by two interesting communications from Campomanes to Floridablanca and José de Gálvez, both of which are dated September 14, 1784 (A.H.N., Est., leg. 3885, exp. No. 17). These letters also show that the arguments of Pantón, Leslie and Company, transmitted to the court by Governor Céspedes, were already taking effect.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, leg. 3901, summary of despatch No. 16 *res.* from Céspedes to Sonora (José de Gálvez), March 30, 1787. At the end of this summary is a note, with Valdés's rubric, dated October 4, [1787], indicating that it was at that time his intention to put an end at once to the trade of Pantón, Leslie and Company in the Floridas.

²⁹ See page xliii of this Introduction.

contained in a royal order of March 23, 1789, which relieved the two companies of the six per cent duties on imports and exports.⁸⁰

Though enjoyed on a precarious tenure, these favors made the fortune of Panton, Leslie and Company. The rapid rise of this firm is indeed one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Spanish borderlands. Starting in 1784 with stores at St. Augustine and St. Marks for trade with the Lower Creek, it took over in 1785 the trade at Pensacola with the Upper Creek, and in 1789 it supplanted Mather and Strother in the trade with the Chickasaw and Choctaw through Mobile. By 1792, it had established itself among the Cherokee and in 1795 the highwater-mark of its development was reached with the building of a store under the guns of the new Spanish fort at Chickasaw Bluffs on the Mississippi. By this time it had got control of the bulk of the southern Indian trade and was, moreover, carrying on a thriving though illegal business with the colonists of East and West Florida. Sheer business ability, connections in the island of New Providence, and substantial credit with its London correspondents, Strachan and MacKenzie, seem to have been the foundation of the company's success, but it received indispensable aid from the half-breed Creek chieftain, Alexander McGillivray, and protection from the colonial officials. McGillivray's support is explained by his own admission that he lived on Panton's bounty.⁸¹ The favor accorded by colonial officials is not so easily explained, although a clue is furnished by the charge of envious rivals that the firm placated a critical governor with a present of "English furniture in the latest mode."⁸²

Just as the company's further expansion into the profitable trans-Mississippi fur trade seemed assured by the establishment of its new store at Chickasaw Bluffs, Spain concluded with the United States the treaty of San Lorenzo, whereby the thirty-first parallel was recognized as the southern boundary of the latter power. Since the treaty also stipulated that each power should have the right to regulate the Indian trade within its boundaries, and since it was just at this juncture that the United States government adopted

⁸⁰ This order, together with all the other orders relating to the status of Panton, Leslie and Company and its successors in West Florida in the period 1785-1807, is listed in an *indice* signed by Juan Francisco Arniaud de Courville, and dated Pensacola, December 23, 1809 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2670 *moderno*). It contains seventy-five items. Cf. Document No. XI.

⁸¹ Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V. 297.

⁸² Document No. XXIV.

the factory system, selling goods to the Indians at cost, Pantón, Leslie and Company was threatened with ruin. Most of the Indians with whom it had been trading were within the boundaries of the United States. It could not hope to compete with the American government, nor could it reasonably hope to collect the very extensive debts owed it by the Indians and its own traders living on American soil. This disastrous treaty, together with extensive losses suffered at the hands of French privateers in the years 1793-1795 and of such adventurers as William Augustus Bowles, brought it to the verge of bankruptcy. The irascible Pantón, animated by a Briton's conviction of the sacredness of property rights, regarded with a malevolent eye anyone who threatened the safety of his own property. He had denounced Bowles as a mad dog, a pirate, whom any decent person should shoot down on sight, and had offered a trusty dependent a pension for life if he would dispose of the freebooter. Now he bitterly resented what he regarded as Spain's betrayal of him and his company in the treaty of San Lorenzo; and it is quite likely that, as Governor Gayoso suspected,⁸³ he accorded a favorable reception to the agent of William Blount in 1797 and was ready to coöperate in Blount's scheme to conquer the Floridas and Louisiana with the joint forces of the American frontiersmen, the British navy, and the southern Indians.

However that may be, Pantón was canny enough not to commit himself prematurely, and when the Blount affair was exposed in time to prevent its execution there was no proof that he had been implicated in it. As there was now no alternative, he made the best of a bad situation and salvaged what he could, maintaining friendly relations with the Spanish officials and retaining his favored position in the Floridas. His company's survival of the many disasters of the 1790's is quite as remarkable as its rapid rise in the 1780's. The explanation lies partly in the sheer competence of its members, chief among whom, besides Pantón, were Robert Leslie and John Forbes. Their business ability was demonstrated by their success in the trade at Mobile, which had bankrupted the rival firm of Mather and Strother. It was also shown by their prompt curtailment of operations upon the conclusion of the treaty of San Lorenzo. Realizing that they could not longer maintain it on advantageous terms, they discontinued their Cherokee trade in 1796.⁸⁴

⁸³ A.G.I., P.C., leg. 1502, Gayoso to Santa Clara, September 24, 1797, No. 22 res.

⁸⁴ Whitaker, "Spain and the Cherokee Indians," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV. 269, note 62.

The company's success in weathering this storm is also explained by the wide ramifications of its business, for many of its branches were in no wise affected by the treaty of 1795. Established ostensibly for the sole purpose of trading with the Indians, and strictly prohibited by repeated orders of the court from importing or exporting any other goods than those essential for the Indian trade, it nevertheless built up a thriving commerce with the inhabitants of St. Augustine, St. Marks, Pensacola, Mobile, and the neighboring settlements. Interlopers had a share in the trade of East Florida, but in West Florida the only port habilitated for foreign commerce was Pensacola, and to Pensacola came only the ships of this favored company.⁸⁵ It was not that other vessels were prohibited, for St. Augustine and Pensacola shared with New Orleans the privileges granted by the royal order of June 9, 1793. The reason was simply that the favored company had been granted exemption from import and export duties for its trade with the Indians, and that under cover of this privilege it imported goods for sale to the white inhabitants and their slaves and exported the produce with which the purchases were made. Whereas the law required the company to import only such articles of common consumption among the Indians as blankets, mirrors, tomahawks, war-paint, guns, and ammunition, and to export only the skins and hides that it received in return, there is abundant evidence that it imported large quantities of fine linens, velvet, lace, brocade, clocks, furniture, and even coaches, and that it exported lumber, beef, flour, tar, turpentine, and cotton.⁸⁶ Other merchants who would have liked to engage in

⁸⁵ For Pensacola, see *ante*, note 26; for St. Augustine, *post*, note 36 and Appendices Nos. I and II, which, though they relate to sailings, indicate the more varied character of the commerce of this port.

⁸⁶ Circumstantial charges, based on an examination of the customs records, were made against Pantón, Leslie and Company, in 1802, by José de Ortega, *teniente auditor de guerra* and *asesor general* of East Florida. He stated that from July, 1789, to August, 1802, nine cargoes consigned wholly to that company and thirty-one cargoes consigned largely to it had arrived at St. Augustine, and that they contained a great variety of exquisite silks and woolens, all kinds of hardware, and the finest furniture, which the company had sold to the colonists in defiance of the law. Before April, 1794, he asserted, no duties whatever had been paid on these imports; since that date, 2270 pesos had been paid on this account—just enough to seem to justify the importations, but not nearly so much as was due. In short, he said, the company had defrauded the government of a sum probably exceeding the present value of its property, both corporate and private. The necessary implication was that the customs officials had connived at these frauds. (Ortega's *dictamen* was enclosed in a representation from T. Richard and others, dated St. Augustine, March 4, 1803: A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2669 *moderno*. See Document XXIV, especially note 186.)

lawful trade with the inhabitants of the Floridas found themselves hopelessly handicapped, for, while Panton, Leslie and Company carried on its commerce duty free, everyone else was compelled, in conformity with the royal order of 1793, to pay an import duty of fifteen per cent and an export duty of six per cent.

Nor was this all. The favored company supplied even the very garrisons with meat and other provisions that it obtained at a low price through its trade with the Indians, acquired land from the Indians in lieu of old debts, and made loans to the planters in order to enable them to purchase slaves and clear their lands. In short, there was hardly any kind of gainful occupation that this company of Indian traders did not engage in. With more respect for the economic necessities of the Floridas than for the regulations imposed by their titular rulers, the company adapted itself skilfully and profitably to the ever-changing needs of this new society. When the Indian trade declined with the westward flight of game before the advance of settlement, the company, instead of playing Canute to the rising tide of frontiersmen, found compensation for lost deer-skins in cotton, and in 1802 it imported a cotton gin to stimulate production of the new commodity.⁸⁷ Such methods kept it a going concern, and according to its own statements its assets in the Floridas, which amounted to about \$400,000, were as large in 1804 as they were when the storm broke ten years earlier.⁸⁸

We have already mentioned some of the more important measures relating to this company that were adopted by the court in the period 1783-1789. After the latter date, few innovations of any great importance were made, and these innovations merely gave further proof of the inability of Spain to disembarass itself of a company of British traders whose presence in the Floridas was a stench in the nostrils of every patriotic Spaniard. Upon the death of William Panton in 1802, the house continued its operations under the name of John Forbes and Company and, in 1806-1807, the court ruled that despite the change of name it was still entitled to the privileges at St. Augustine, Pensacola, and St. Marks which

⁸⁷ A.G.I., P.C., leg. 519, entry dated June 1, 1802, noting the importation for the "Casa de Panton" by Thomas Dunford (*i.e.*, Durnford?) of "una máquina para limpiar algodón y otra para prensar peletería."

⁸⁸ In a representation to Governor Carondelet which is undated but was probably drawn up in 1794, Panton, Leslie and Company stated that its total assets amounted to 400,000 pesos (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2354). John Forbes's statement of its assets in 1804 is given in Appendix IV.

had been granted to Pantón, Leslie and Company.³⁹ Even when Spain went to war with England in 1796, the company was permitted to do business as usual, employing neutral vessels for its trade; and the same permission was renewed when war broke out again between the two powers in 1804.⁴⁰ In the same year, Governor Folch of West Florida at last legalized the general commerce that the company had long been carrying on with the colonists, and the home government had no choice but to acquiesce.⁴¹ In fact, when Spain was at war with England, as it was throughout most of the period from 1796 to 1808, communications with these colonies were maintained with the very greatest difficulty. It was out of the question to garrison them properly, and the court had to approve, or at least to tolerate, whatever measures the colonial officials deemed essential for the preservation of the provinces. Whether from conviction or self-interest, the governors of St. Augustine and Pensacola uniformly supported the demands of the company; and when war with England relaxed the bonds of royal authority, the company was its own master, and was very nearly the master of the Floridas as well. Very nearly, but not quite, for there are many indications that it saw the drift of destiny and was ready to make its peace with the American government.⁴²

If, as one may suspect, Pantón and McGillivray and their associates had high hopes in the 1780's of emulating the East India Company of earlier days and of building up, with the aid of the southern Indians as sepoys, a commercial empire on the Gulf of Mexico, they were bitterly disappointed in their political aspirations. In their commercial designs they and their successors were more fortunate. As for Spain, its failure was very nearly complete. In the first place, it had tolerated the presence of these Britons in the Floridas as a temporary expedient, in order to keep the southern Indians from succumbing to the Americans until the time should come when Spanish industry and commerce could supplant the

³⁹ The royal order was dated December 22, 1806 (*indice* cited in note 30, *ante*).

⁴⁰ *Decreto* by the commandant (Folch) of Pensacola, April 18, 1805, in response to a petition by James Innerarity on behalf of Pantón, Leslie and Company. Folch cited a similar decision by the *Junta de Real Hacienda* at New Orleans, January 13, 1797. (*Índice* cited in note 30, *ante*.)

⁴¹ Document No. XXVII.

⁴² Space forbids an attempt to prove this assertion, but its accuracy is indicated by John Forbes's visit to the United States in 1804 and by his evident desire to conciliate the American government and its agent among the Creek Indians, Benjamin Hawkins.

British. That time never came. The British merchants remained in Florida, gaining ever greater privileges, until the Spanish dominion was ended by the treaty of 1819. Again, the company was tolerated in order that it might assure the friendship of the southern Indians toward Spain, avert their hostility from the Spanish settlements, and erect them into a barrier against the Americans. So far were the Indians from remaining friendly to Spain that they were incessantly harassing towns and plantations from Natchez to St. Augustine. And so far were the traders and their Indian customers from serving as a barrier against the Americans that the invasion and acquisition of Florida by the Americans in the time of Andrew Jackson are directly traceable to the long series of grievances of the frontiersmen against Pantón and later British traders, to whose machinations the Americans attributed their sufferings at the hands of the Indians. Ambrister, Arbuthnot, and Ferdinand VII. reaped the whirlwind sowed by William Pantón and Charles III.

IV. *The Royal Order of 1793*

If the present Introduction and the accompanying documents were designed to illustrate merely the movement of commerce in the Floridas, it would not be necessary to occupy ourselves for long with the *cédula* of 1782 and the subsequent measures modifying the system established by it. The *cédula* ostensibly regulated the commerce of West Florida as well as that of Louisiana, but, as we have just seen, the concessions made by Spain to British merchants practically annulled it so far as that province was concerned. Instead of trading with France or Spain, as the *cédula* provided, West Florida traded with Great Britain. As for East Florida, the *cédula* when promulgated did not apply to that colony, which was still in the possession of Great Britain; nor was it extended to the colony in the course of the next decade. In fact, the court did not designate any system whatever for the regulation of the commerce of East Florida until 1793. In 1786, and again in 1790, it got as far as drafting such an ordinance, but neither draft was adopted.⁴³

⁴³ (1) A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-24, "Real Cedula de S. M. que contiene la Instruccion que debe servir de regla, para la Poblacion, y Comercio de la Florida Oriental. Madrid, 1786." This draft contains thirty-six articles. (2) *Ibid.*, 87-3-22, "Reglamento é Ynstruccion reservada para el gobierno, poblacion y Comercio de la Florida Oriental. Presentados por el s^r D^a Antonio Porlier en Junta de Estado de 10. de Mayo de 1790." An *extracto* in this legajo, dated at the end May 8, 1788, shows that Governor Céspedes's despatch of May 12, 1787 (Document No. VII) was considered in the drafting of this *reglamento*.

The delay was almost certainly due to the project, which is set forth at length in Salcedo's "Discourse"⁴⁴ and was under consideration throughout this period, of ceding a portion of the province to Great Britain in return for Gibraltar or some other consideration. In the interval, the governor of East Florida had to decide each case as it arose, using his intelligence and discretion and hoping for the approval of the home government. This was the situation that made it possible for Panton, Leslie and Company to gain control of the trade at St. Augustine as well as at Pensacola and Mobile. In neither of the Floridas was commerce carried on as contemplated by the *cédula* of 1782.

Our concern, however, is quite as much with the policy of Spain as with the inconsiderable traffic of Florida, and as far as the court was concerned the *cédula* remained the basic principle despite the concessions to Panton, Leslie and Company, for these were always regarded as merely a temporary expedient. The *cédula* remained in force in West Florida for the ten-year period to which it was limited, and, in 1793, it was renewed for that province as well as for Louisiana and was extended to East Florida.⁴⁵ We may therefore inquire briefly into its operation and the circumstances that led to its modification and extension in 1793.

Within a short time after its promulgation there appeared several reasons for dissatisfaction with it. The chief reason was that the privilege of trade with the French West Indies, which was greatly amplified in the case of St. Domingue in 1785,⁴⁶ gave rise to a large though circuitous commerce between Louisiana and the United States. Since most of the colony's subsidy found its way into the hands of the merchants, and since it was extremely difficult to prevent smuggling on the Mississippi, large sums of money were exported from New Orleans in contravention of the law and found their way through St. Domingue to the United States.⁴⁷ Again, the court was soon assured by Martín Navarro and other well-informed

⁴⁴ Document No. X. A note of January 20, 1790, appended to the *extracto* mentioned in the preceding note, shows that the adoption of the *reglamento* of 1790 was suspended because of the "Discourse." Floridablanca approved the projected cession even before Spain had come into possession of East Florida (A.G.S., Est., leg. 2617 *moderno*, *Atado* No. 4, Floridablanca to Bernardo del Campo, El Pardo, March 17, 1783). See also Documents, note 89.

⁴⁵ Document No. XXIII. See also Documents, note 33.

⁴⁶ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21, [José de Gálvez] to the Intendant of Louisiana, Aranjuez, April 7, 1785, draft.

⁴⁷ Whitaker, "The Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas at the End of the Eighteenth Century," *loc. cit.*, p. 198, note 26.

colonial officials that the privileges granted Louisiana by the *cédula* were inadequate, and Navarro renewed his recommendation, made in a valuable report of 1780, in favor of "free trade."⁴⁸ By this phrase he meant that Louisiana should be permitted to trade with all friendly powers on the payment of moderate import and export duties.

In 1787, a notable event in the history of the Spanish-American frontier provided Navarro with another powerful argument in favor of a thesis that he had already maintained with cogent reasoning. This was the descent of the smooth-tongued James Wilkinson to New Orleans with a cargo of provisions and plots. In a memorial dated September, 1787, he urged that, in order to protect its dominions against the American frontiersmen, Spain should adopt one of two measures, the first being a conspiracy with the Kentuckians in order to disrupt the Union and the other the encouragement of immigration to Louisiana by a further liberalization of its colonial system. Navarro, together with Governor Miró, gave this memorial his enthusiastic support, and we may safely assume that his enthusiasm was due chiefly to the fact that both of Wilkinson's projects would require an amplification of the commercial privileges of Louisiana.⁴⁹ The western frontiersmen could not be persuaded to secede from the Union and form an alliance with Spain unless they were given the use of the Mississippi River and assured an outlet for their produce by way of the gulf. Nor could immigrants and capital be attracted to Louisiana without such concessions to the commerce of the colony as would make its prosperity reasonably certain. Four years' experience under the *cédula* of 1782 had shown that, contrary to expectations, France could not supply the needs of the colony even with its present population. Further concessions were necessary.

In Spain, also, there was dissatisfaction with the *cédula*, but

⁴⁸ Documents, note 22.

⁴⁹ The relation between the commerce of Louisiana and the Kentucky intrigue was emphasized by Navarro in an *informe* of November 11, 1788, on the *expediente* containing Wilkinson's memorial and similar papers (A.H.N., Est., leg. 3888 *bis*). It is also shown by a letter from Floridablanca to Gardoqui, dated May 24, 1788, in which the former said: "Our object is to attract the inhabitants of the provinces on the Ohio and the Mississippi to our devotion . . ., providing them with an outlet for their produce as far as New Orleans, and also to enable them to obtain in that place what goods they need from other countries. But since this must be arranged in conformity with the pending readjustment of the commerce of Louisiana, I cannot give you more detailed instructions until the latter question is settled." (*Ibid.*, leg. 3893, confidential, draft.)

here, as one might expect, it was maintained that the commercial system set up by it was already too liberal. The reader will recall that at this juncture there was a widespread economic depression throughout the European-American world, a depression which in France hastened the outbreak of the Revolution and in the United States facilitated the adoption of the new federal constitution. In Spain, one of the results of the depression was a demand for the repeal of the *cédula* of 1782 as well as of the larger measure, the Ordinance of Free Commerce of 1778.⁵⁰ One may well wonder why Spanish merchants should have been so exercised over the commercial regulations of Florida and Louisiana, a region with which they had almost never traded before the *cédula* was adopted and whose scanty population required only some twenty-five ships a year in constant operation to meet its modest wants. The explanation is that these Spanish merchants believed, or affected to believe, that, under cover of the privileges accorded in the *cédula*, an immense contraband trade was carried on throughout the whole gulf region. It was to this contraband trade that they attributed the decline of their commerce in that part of the world and especially in New Spain. The *consulado*⁵¹ of Cadiz was particularly vehement in its protests, and one of its representations led the court to order the reopening of the whole question of commerce in Louisiana and West Florida.⁵² It may be that the reactionaries gained hope from the recent death of both José de Gálvez, the colonial secretary, who was one of the chief exponents of commercial liberalism at court, and his distinguished nephew, Bernardo de Gálvez, latterly viceroy of New Spain, who shared his views. At any rate, it was just after their death that a determined effort was made to overturn the relatively liberal system which they had obtained for these border provinces.

It was chiefly by declamation, supported by some rather bizarre arguments, that the reactionaries endeavored to destroy the *cédula*.⁵³ They were loud in their assertion that it sheltered a huge

⁵⁰ Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man*, p. 198; G. Desdévaises du Dezert, *loc. cit.*, p. 189. These writers speak of the attack on the ordinance of 1778.

⁵¹ Documents, note 25.

⁵² In conformity with a decision of the Junta de Estado, a circular letter, dated April 21, 1788, was sent by Valdés to the *consulados* of Bilbao, San Sebastián, and the habilitated ports asking their advice (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, draft of the circular, addressed to the Prior and Consuls of the *consulado* of San Sebastián).

⁵³ Document No. IX is one of the most intelligent of the reports of the *consulados*. Reports were also received from Coruña, Santander, San Sebastián,

smuggling trade with New Spain which was ruining honest Spanish merchants. They also appealed to religious prejudice, declaring that Protestant flour introduced into the Spanish colonies was made of a mixture of beans and peas together with wheat, and was therefore unfit for the consecration of the host.⁵⁴ Their most powerful argument was the undeniable assertion that the *cédula* was an innovation, that there was no precedent for it. Against this cogent reasoning its defenders could only urge that the huge contraband trade was imaginary, that an unprecedented situation required unprecedented measures, and that the proximity of the United States, together with other local circumstances, made it quite unthinkable to subject Louisiana and Florida to the general colonial system of Spain.⁵⁵ The memorials of James Wilkinson and of Pantón, Leslie and Company, the threats of George Rogers Clark and other militant frontiersmen, and the representations of colonial officials weighed heavily with the court in its consideration of the problem. The decisive argument, however, was the impossibility of repealing the *cédula* without giving grave offense to France, which was not only the chief beneficiary by the measure but was also Spain's close ally and the chief prop of the Spanish Empire. It was apparently this argument that silenced the opposition for the time being. On March 23, 1789, the *Junta de Estado* decided that the *cédula* should run its ten-year course without alteration, and that, in the meanwhile, efforts should be made by the government to introduce Spanish commerce into the border colonies.⁵⁶

For the latter purpose, it was determined to try a unique experiment. Martín Navarro, who had spent nearly twenty years in

and Bilbao. A valuable statement of the chief defects and abuses of the *cédula* of 1782 is contained in an unsigned and undated summary of orders and resolutions on the commerce of Louisiana and Florida in the period 1782-1789, A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19. See also Document No. XX.

⁵⁴ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, *informe* of the *consulado* of Coruña, May 10, 1788.
⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *informe* of Martín Navarro, January 15, 1789. This is a valuable document, but since it is a very lengthy one and relates almost entirely to Louisiana, with little attention to Florida, it has been thought best to publish his briefer *informe* of April 26, 1789 (Document No. XII), which contains an adequate statement of his position.

⁵⁶ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, Minutes of a meeting of the *Junta de Estado*, March 23, 1789, signed by Eugenio de Llaguno and approved by the king. This is accompanied by the *dictámenes* (written opinions) of three of the ministers (one by Porlier, another by Lerena, the third unsigned). Lerena and the writer of the unsigned *dictamen* referred to the interest of France in the *cédula*. The writer of the unsigned *dictamen* was probably the Marqués de Bajamar (Document No. XX).

Louisiana in various official capacities and had acquired a thorough knowledge of the highways and byways of its commerce, was sent to France and England to obtain samples of goods exported from those countries to Louisiana and Florida and to gather pertinent information that would enable Spanish merchants and manufacturers to duplicate the wares and methods that seemed so highly esteemed in the colonies.⁵⁷ Navarro proceeded to France in 1789 and was just in time to observe the beginning of the revolution. The first fruit of his mission was the significant information that the merchants of Bordeaux were urging the government to recover Louisiana.⁵⁸ His movements were hampered somewhat by the revolutionary disturbances, but he spent several busy months in France and England and sent back numerous samples, which, by the way, he had no little difficulty in persuading the Spanish customs officials to admit into the country. Shortly after his return Navarro incurred the disfavor of the court for some reason that is not clear.⁵⁹ Deprived of his guiding hand, the project languished and soon passed into oblivion. The government was fully occupied with problems arising out of the French Revolution and had neither the time nor the money to prosecute this ambitious plan.

Time would not stand still, however, even for the Spanish court, and some action must be taken before the *cédula* expired. The problem was more difficult than ever. Spanish merchants were no better able to supply the colonies than they had been before Navarro's mission. The rapid increase of population made the American frontier ever more dangerous. The simple expedient of renewing the *cédula* was now out of the question, for France, once the nation most trusted by Spain, was rapidly becoming the one most feared.⁶⁰ The court was in a quandary.

It was this situation that gave the Floridas and Louisiana the privilege of "free trade" for which Navarro and other colonial

⁵⁷ Documents Nos. XII and XIII refer to this mission. Navarro was allowed a salary of 45,000 *reales de vellón* (2250 *pesos*) and an assistant, Salvador de Alva, with a salary of 12,000 *reales de vellón*. They had arrived at Bordeaux by August 12, 1789; at Paris by October 14; reached London October 23; by March 31, 1790, were in Lyon, from which they visited St. Étienne; and returned to Spain by way of Barcelona about April 15. In a letter to Lerena, dated May 26, 1790, Navarro gave a comprehensive report of his mission. (Numerous documents relating to this subject are in A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19.)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 87-3-21, Navarro to Valdés, Bordeaux, September 12, 1789.

⁵⁹ Documents, note 95. In October, 1791, Gardoqui recommended that the project be revived (Document No. XVI).

⁶⁰ See Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier*, Chapter X.

officials had been contending for more than a decade. When the court resumed the consideration of the problem in 1790, its chief adviser on colonial commerce was Diego de Gardoqui,⁶¹ whose notable report of 1794 on commerce and manufactures we have already mentioned. His residence of four years in the United States as the envoy of Spain enabled him to speak with authority on questions relating to eastern North America. In his capacity first as director of colonial commerce and then as secretary of the treasury he had the commerce of the empire within his immediate jurisdiction. Although he might have been inclined to the side of the reactionaries by his kinship with the members of a commercial house at Bilbao and by his fear of the economic penetration of Spanish America by the United States,⁶² Gardoqui took the side of the liberals in this case and in many others. Perhaps he had imbibed liberalism as a protégé of Floridablanca, or perhaps he was sufficiently enlightened to perceive that in the trend of events it was indispensable to increase the commercial privileges of Spain's border colonies. However that may be, he recommended that a new commercial ordinance for Louisiana should be drawn up and that this ordinance should permit the colonists to trade with all friendly nations with which Spain had a treaty of commerce.⁶³

The practical effect of this measure, when Gardoqui first proposed it (1791), would have been to give Great Britain a share with France in the trade of those colonies, and to exclude the United States, which did not have a commercial treaty with Spain. There can be little doubt that he made this proposal with an eye to the pending controversy with the United States, for he continued to be consulted by the court in regard to that negotiation after his return to Spain in 1789. He was convinced that the United States desired a commercial treaty with Spain ardently enough to make some sacrifice in order to obtain it and he believed that this sacrifice could be made to take the form of an abatement of the Americans' ambitious claims in regard to the navigation of the Mississippi River and the boundary of West Florida. In this way, Spain would reinforce its barrier colonies to such an extent that it would have little reason to fear the economic penetration of Louisiana by the Americans, especially since the projected ordinance contemplated the extension of the same commercial privileges to France

⁶¹ Documents, note 109.

⁶² Document No. XIV makes this inclination apparent.

⁶³ Document No. XVI.

and Great Britain. The tripartite rivalry of these foreigners would prevent any one of them from gaining an undue ascendancy in the commerce of those colonies, whose prosperity would thus be promoted without endangering the sovereignty of Spain. If, however, the United States should not be willing to purchase commercial privileges on such terms, Spain would still be satisfied. The Americans would be automatically excluded from trading with the border colonies, and yet these would be adequately supplied by British and French merchants. As for the controversy over navigation and boundary, Spain, being in possession of both the disputed points, could well afford to wait.

While the Spanish government proceeded with its leisurely examination of these proposals,⁶⁴ there developed rapidly a situation that destroyed every premise on which Gardoqui's system was based. In brief, Spain and England were both involved in 1793 in the wars of the French Revolution, and for the next twenty years Spain continued to wage war, first on one side, then on the other, and finally on both. From beginning to end these wars were disastrous to the Spanish Empire. Nowhere was the disaster more promptly manifest than in the border colonies of Louisiana and the Floridas, and it was in the field of commerce that the disaster was first apparent. France and Great Britain as well as Spain itself were preoccupied with the European war and unable to supply ships for the use of those colonies, whereas the Americans had ships to spare and were protected, though to a diminishing extent, by their neutral flag. The result was that instead of playing off merchants of the rival nations against each other, Spain had to acquiesce in the gradual absorption of the trade of Louisiana and Florida by the United States; and instead of using the bait of commercial concession to obtain a favorable settlement of the Mississippi question, it had to yield all of the essential points to the United States virtually without compensation. This it did in the treaty of San Lorenzo (October 27, 1795).⁶⁵ Within another three years the United States had gained, again as a free gift, the privilege of trading with Louisiana.⁶⁶

It need hardly be said that these changes were not accomplished

⁶⁴ Document No. XVII.

⁶⁵ Bemis, *op. cit.*, Chapter XII; Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier*, Chapter XIV.

⁶⁶ This was a war-time privilege. See p. xlix of this Introduction. See also Document No. XXV.

overnight; nor is it necessary to say that the Spanish government was mercifully spared the prevision of its misfortunes. Nevertheless, it required but little time and no extraordinary foresight for the Spanish government to realize that plans elaborated in time of peace were of little use in time of war. The commercial ordinance which the court had so long been drafting for Louisiana and West Florida, together with a similar measure for East Florida,⁶⁷ was accordingly filed in the archives for future reference, and a temporary measure in the form of a royal order was quickly drawn up and dispatched to the colonies.⁶⁸

This royal order,⁶⁹ dated June 9, 1793, differed in several respects from the ordinance which the court had had under consideration. In the first place, it was described as temporary, and was therefore subject to revocation or alteration at any time. In the second place, it applied to East Florida as well as to Louisiana and West Florida. In the third place, the clause that described the foreign countries eligible for trade with these colonies was less explicitly worded than Gardoqui had originally proposed, for it now read "all friendly and allied nations." This ambiguity gave rise to a debate somewhat similar to the constitutional controversy in the United States over the "necessary and proper" clause. Did it mean that the nation must be both allied and friendly? That would seem redundant. Or did the clause mean that friendly nations as well as allies might trade with Louisiana and the Floridas? The point of the latter question is obvious, for the United States was the only nation that was friendly but not allied and that at the same time was able to carry on an extensive commerce with these colonies. The colonial officials put this question directly to the proper minister, Gardoqui, and the discreet Gardoqui promptly referred it to the department of state, asking to be informed what nations had treaties of alliance with Spain.⁷⁰

There the matter rested. The colonial officials got no reply to their inquiry. In their ignorance they prudently refrained at the outset from admitting American ships indiscriminately, and for the first five years after the promulgation of the royal order most of the trade of the colonies was carried on under the Spanish flag. The Spanish flag, however, covered many an American ship. In

⁶⁷ Documents Nos. XVIII, XXI and XXII.

⁶⁸ Document No. XXII.

⁶⁹ Document No. XXIII.

⁷⁰ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-22, Las Casas to Gardoqui, Havana, January 25, 1794, No. 12, enclosing copy of a despatch from Governor Quesada of East Florida, dated November 20, 1793.

1796, Governor Carondelet of Louisiana frankly admitted that the supply of shipping was so far below the demand that American ships, provided with two flags and two sets of papers, frequently came to New Orleans, hoisting their Spanish colors only as they hove in sight of the Spanish lookout at the mouth of the Mississippi River.⁷¹ It was impossible, said the governor, to put a stop to this abuse, for such action would ruin the colony's commerce and would very probably precipitate a revolution. The Americans also obtained with increasing frequency emergency licenses to trade with these colonies.

When Spain went to war with Great Britain in 1796, the time for such subterfuges was past. The United States was the only nation that could supply the commercial requirements of these border colonies, which were in greater need of provisions and ships than ever before. Their requirements were vastly increased at this very juncture by the rapid extension of cotton and sugar cultivation in Louisiana, which, by a curious coincidence, began simultaneously in 1795.⁷² The introduction and progress of these branches of agriculture were due mainly to the servile insurrection in the French West Indies, which, at the same time that it sent many refugees with an expert knowledge of sugar planting to Louisiana, reduced the production of sugar, enhanced the price and made it possible for the Louisiana planters to enter the field; to the introduction of the cotton gin recently invented by Eli Whitney; to the increasing demand for cotton with the rapid progress of the industrial revolution in England; and to successive failures of the indigo

⁷¹ A.G.I., P.C., leg. 104, Carondelet to Irujo, November 22, 1796, draft. As early as March 27, 1794, Carondelet protested against Gardoqui's efforts to cut off trade between Louisiana and the United States, asserting that the enforcement of Gardoqui's orders would entail the loss of Louisiana (A.H.N., Est., leg. 3899, Carondelet to Alcudia, No. 30 *reservada*). Information to the same effect was transmitted to the State Department in 1798 by Daniel Clark, Jr., self-styled "acting vice-consul" of the United States at that port (see Documents, note 187). William Short, American minister at Madrid, was surprisingly misinformed concerning Spanish commercial regulations at New Orleans. In 1795, he wrote a correspondent: "As to your inquiry respecting the trade to N. Orleans I can give you little or no information. . . . The law [*i.e.*, the royal order of June 9, 1793] was soon after repealed or at least suspended. . . . It would be unsafe probably to adventure in this line at present, & on the uncertain footing of the law, wch. is considered here as not in force." (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, William Short Papers, William Short to ———, Madrid, September 30, 1795.)

⁷² A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2565 *moderno*, Carondelet to Llaguno, May 31, 1796, No. 20. See Document No. XXVI. Gayarré, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-350, gives an account of the beginning of successful cultivation of sugar in Louisiana.

crops of Louisiana, which disposed the planters to seek a substitute. These developments revolutionized the commerce of Louisiana, and their effect was felt in the Floridas as well. In Louisiana, the most important change was the rectification of the balance of trade. Up to this time its exports, of which the chief items were furs and skins, indigo, lumber, and tobacco, had been far inferior in value to its imports, and the difference had been made up by the exportation of specie, which was made available by the colony's annual subsidy⁷³ of more than 500,000 pesos a year. Most of it soon found its way into the hands of the merchants, who then smuggled it out of the province in order to make further purchases of goods for local consumption. Despite their success in evading the prohibition, the merchants found the situation unsatisfactory, for the risk of detection was sufficient to discourage commerce. For instance, in 1794, the *Noah's Ark*, bound for Philadelphia, was detected in the act of attempting to smuggle out more than 40,000 pesos in specie. Urgent representations from the governor and intendant in favor of the guilty merchants induced the king to issue a royal order permitting the exportation of specie on the payment of a six per cent duty, but for various reasons the order was not received in the colony until 1802 and its execution was then suspended by the intendant, Morales, on the ground that the rise of sugar and cotton cultivation had brought exports up to the level of imports and had thus removed the cause for the concession.⁷⁴

In order to meet the shipping requirements of the cotton and sugar exporters, the colonial officials assumed the responsibility of throwing open the commerce of Louisiana to neutrals (and this meant to the United States) for the duration of the war.⁷⁵ This measure was closely connected with the opening of the American deposit at New Orleans in conformity with the treaty of San Lorenzo. The deposit was formally established in April, 1798, and it was only two months later that, in response to a memorial from Daniel Clark, Jr.,⁷⁶ acting vice-consul of the United States at that port, New Orleans was thrown open to American commerce. Although the court twice issued positive orders directing that the decree in favor of neutral trade be rescinded, the colonial officials humbly but firmly refused to obey, defending their course with the

⁷³ *I.e.*, the *situado*. See Documents, note 13.

⁷⁴ Document No. XXVI; and Documents, note 171. The royal order permitting the exportation was dated April 2, 1797.

⁷⁵ Document No. XXV.

⁷⁶ Documents, note 187.

familiar argument that compliance would result either in the utter ruin of the province or more probably in an insurrection. After the second refusal the court let them have their way. This situation lasted until October 18, 1802, when, the conclusion of peace in Europe having removed the reason for the indulgence, the intendant of Louisiana, Juan Ventura Morales, published a proclamation prohibiting neutral commerce with the province thenceforward.⁷⁷ Again, the connection with the American right of deposit was apparent, for by the same proclamation Morales declared the deposit closed. In the meanwhile, the United States had virtually monopolized the commerce of the colony. In the period 1798-1802, more than half the ships that called at New Orleans flew the American flag.⁷⁸ It was these ships that brought to the colony most of the manufactured articles consumed there, and that took off its returns in cotton, sugar, and deerskins.

In another respect as well, Louisiana was becoming increasingly dependent upon the United States during this period. With the growth of the urban population of New Orleans and the specialization of the planters in the production of sugar and cotton, the colony was consuming ever larger quantities of foodstuffs rafted down the river from the American west. In 1796, 3500 barrels of American flour were imported into New Orleans exclusive of deposits for reshipment; in 1798, 7500 barrels; in 1802, 12,300 barrels.⁷⁹ Other articles, such as bacon, salt pork, beef, apples, and whiskey were also brought down in large quantities. For its foodstuffs, as well as for its supply of manufactured goods and the exportation of its staple crops, Louisiana was dependent upon the United States to a far greater degree than upon any other nation, and the same thing seems to have been true of the Floridas. The commercial developments of this period also affected profoundly the attitude of the American people toward Spain's border colonies. American commerce on the Mississippi River, which was only a dream in the 1780's, was a golden reality by 1800. More important still, the commerce was carried on by Atlantic seaports as

⁷⁷ Morales's account of this well-known episode is contained in despatch No. 1 *muy reservado* to Soler, dated New Orleans, October 21, 1802 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2619 *moderno*).

⁷⁸ This statement is based on tables compiled from the shipping records of New Orleans by the present editor. Since these tables relate not to the Floridas, but to Louisiana alone, they will be published elsewhere.

⁷⁹ See the preceding note.

well as by western towns, so that the Mississippi question was no longer a sectional issue.

Unforeseeable developments in world commerce and world politics had brought it about that the commercial concessions designed by Spain to render Louisiana an impenetrable barrier against the United States had only hastened the economic penetration of the province by the Americans, and economic penetration was but a prelude to annexation. The fate of the Floridas was bound up in these events, for, as Senator James Jackson of Georgia said in 1803, the nation that owned New Orleans must also inevitably own the Floridas;⁸⁰ and Louisiana precedents were soon followed by the makers of trade regulations in West Florida.

V. *The Commerce of the Floridas, 1803-1808*

FROM the evacuation of Louisiana by the Spaniards to the end of our period, the commercial system of West Florida required the constant attention of the court as well as of the colonial officials. East Florida remained, as it had been hitherto, a negligible factor in the counsels of the home government, for it had but a single port, its population was scanty and its immediate strategic importance small. Amelia Island, at the mouth of the St. Marys, became a rendezvous for smugglers at the time of the embargo;⁸¹ but that does not concern us.

The commerce of East Florida continued to be carried on with little alteration until the end of our period. On September 9, 1802, a *Junta de Real Hacienda* ordered that, since peace had been restored, foreign ships should no longer be admitted to the ports of the province; but that in accordance with the royal order of June 9, 1793, the ports were still open to citizens of the United States provided the trade was carried on in Spanish ships.⁸² In 1804, a new consul general of Spain in the United States, Valentín de Foronda, showed a disposition to interfere with trade between East Florida and the United States even in Spanish ships. Governor White promptly wrote the Spanish consul for Georgia and the

⁸⁰ Annals of Congress, 7 cong., 2 sess., pp. 146-151.

⁸¹ L. M. Sears, *Jefferson and the Embargo*, pp. 133, 243 n; Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, V. 165. Amelia Island will be fully discussed in the volumes being edited for The Florida State Historical Society by Professor J. B. Lockey, of the University of California at Los Angeles.

⁸² East Florida Papers, Box 105 A9, Governor Enrique White to Manuel Rengil, St. Augustine, September 9, 1802.

Carolinas that the consul general's interference was unwarranted;⁸³ and the remoteness of that official's residence, together with other circumstances, prevented his interference from becoming effective. With the resumption of war, American vessels were again admitted to the ports of East Florida.

The only restriction of any consequence which was imposed upon commerce between East Florida and the United States in the closing years of this period came in the form of a royal order of November 14, 1804, closing East Florida to immigration from the United States.⁸⁴ Ever since the province was first opened to foreign immigration (1790), the privilege had been abused in order to cover illicit trade with the United States. Permitted to import their property duty free, many of the newcomers had brought property that was not their own, and some of them even returned several times to the United States for fresh stocks of goods. Since the law allowed them to export to other Spanish colonies such of their property as they could not sell in East Florida, the system promoted a not inconsiderable traffic between the United States and Spanish colonies from which it was the intention of the court to exclude American commerce. This commercial aspect of the problem, combined with the Spanish court's distrust of the loyalty of the American immigrants, was responsible for the abandonment in 1804 of the immigration experiment begun in 1790.

Commercially, East Florida remained a dependency of the United States. Of the thirty-six vessels which sailed from the ports of the province (St. Augustine and St. Johns River) in 1805, twenty-six had ports of the United States as their destination.⁸⁵ Most of these cleared for Charleston, Savannah, and Baltimore. Of the forty-two ships arriving at St. Augustine in 1806, thirty-seven came from ports of the United States. Havana was the only Spanish port with which East Florida had any commerce; yet Havana charged higher prices for its goods than poverty stricken East Florida could afford, and had little need for its products. In 1805, only nine ships sailed from East Florida to Havana, and in 1806, only four ships arrived in East Florida from that port.

From Baltimore came flour, hams, and butter; from Charleston

⁸³ See Document No. XXVII.

⁸⁴ East Florida Papers, Box 410, Marqués de Someruelos to the governor of East Florida, Havana, July 9, 1805, quoting the royal order of November 14, 1804.

⁸⁵ The information contained in this paragraph is based on shipping records in the East Florida Papers, especially Boxes 231 J18 and 251 D20.

and Savannah, rice, corn, and lumber. All three ports furnished East Florida with generous supplies of dry goods and wine and brandy. The dependence of East Florida upon the United States was almost absolute, for the colony produced neither the foodstuffs nor the manufactured articles which it required. The plantation system was spreading, and of the total population of 4445 in 1804, some 2300 were slaves.⁸⁶ Most of the scanty products—cotton, naval stores, fruit, and skins and hides—were for the export market, which the United States alone could provide. The Spanish commercial system, of which the royal order of 1793 was the basic measure, merely made it easier for East Florida to fulfill its economic destiny.

The Louisiana Purchase and the consequent dispute over the West Florida boundary gave rise to an economic as well as a diplomatic problem. Merchants and planters of West Florida and Louisiana who had formerly been intimately associated were now embarrassed by the controversy between the American and Spanish governments. The situation is best described in a letter written by Daniel Clark, Jr., in December, 1803.⁸⁷ Referring to the probability that no part of West Florida would be obtained as part of Louisiana, he said:

This will place us in a very particular and intricate situation with respect to West Florida which is in some places wedged in between our possessions on the Mississippi and in others prevents a free Access from the sea to a part of those north of the present Line of Demarcation. From West Florida we are entirely supplied with Pitch and Tar, a great quantity of building Timber, Lime, Cattle, Fish etc. etc. and from the Mississippi the Garrisons and Inhabitants of the East side of lake pontchartrain, mobile and Pensacola receive their supplies. The Craft which carry on this Traffic are partly owned in Orleans and partly by the planters residing on the small Rivers and bays in West florida, . . . Should the Officers of the Spanish Government of Louisiana obstinately refuse to allow of an intercourse between New Orleans or Louisiana Generally and their province of West florida I recommend in that case that the Governor of this Country be not only authorised but ordered to put a stop to all Communication whatever between the two Countries—the Consequence of this will be that the Garrisons of Baton Rouge, Mobile and Pensacola which absolutely depend on us for their existence

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Box 29 C3, "Resumen general de los Moradores," 1804, enclosed in White to Someruelos, February 13, 1805.

⁸⁷ *American Historical Review*, XXXIII, 356-358, Clark to James Madison, New Orleans, December 13, 1803.

will be reduced to starvation and the inhabitants deprived of a market and of the means of procuring supplies will make such an outcry and take such other measures that the Intendant Cannot possibly support his orders for a Week if we act in the manner I propose. The certainty that matters Cannot remain long in their present situation between us and West florida and the hope that the U. States will shortly acquire it and that any favor now granted to its trade will be but an anticipation of a right which I flatter myself its Inhabitants will shortly enjoy as Citizens of the U. States have emboldened me to lay these particulars before you for your Consideration.

When Louisiana was transferred to France (November 30, 1803), the chief commercial regulations in force in West Florida were the following: By virtue of an order of December 1, 1803, a six per cent duty was imposed on all articles imported under the Spanish flag from New Orleans, the chief source of supply, to Pensacola, Mobile, and Baton Rouge.⁸⁸ Trade under the American flag was not permitted. The navigation of the Mobile River by the Americans was prohibited except upon special written permission from the intendant, which was granted only in the case of vessels carrying cargoes on the account of the United States government.⁸⁹ The *cédula* of 1782 and the royal order of 1793 were still in effect, as were the privileges previously granted Pantón, Leslie and Company. The house also obtained other concessions at this time. For instance, in June, 1803, Intendant Morales permitted it to bring 50,000 pounds of cotton from the American settlements on the Tombigbee River to New Orleans by way of Mobile;⁹⁰ and in February, 1804, because of the delay in the arrival of its own ship from London, he permitted it to engage two American ships to take off the peltry that it had accumulated at Mobile and Pensacola.⁹¹ In both cases, however, it was stipulated that the concession should not be regarded as a precedent.

Within the next five years circumstances had compelled the abandonment of virtually all of these restrictions, so that, by the end of 1808, the Americans and Pantón, Leslie and Company had a free hand in the province. Chief among these circumstances were

⁸⁸ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2670 *moderno*, Morales to Soler, August 19, 1804, No. 335.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, leg. 2665 *moderno*, summary of despatch No. 234 from Morales to Soler, dated New Orleans, July 31, 1803.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, leg. 2669 *moderno*, Morales to Soler, July 31, 1803, No. 235.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, summary of a despatch from Morales to Soler, February 29, 1804, No. 284.

the old feud between Intendant Morales and Governor Folch of West Florida, the European war, the American claim to a large part of West Florida, and the economic dependence of the latter province upon the United States. The war in Europe forced Florida as well as other Spanish colonies to relax or disregard the law in order to feed and clothe itself as best it could. The American claim to West Florida induced the United States to interpret its commercial laws in such a way as to force a further modification of the Spanish system in that province. For instance, drawbacks on re-exportations to foreign ports were denied when shipments were made from New Orleans to Baton Rouge and Mobile, the American argument being that they were included in the Louisiana Purchase and were therefore not foreign ports.⁹² When, however, Jefferson's embargo was enacted, the most rigorous measures were taken to prevent trade with West Florida, and Gallatin, replying to Spanish protests, wrote: "We uniformly consider territory in Spanish possession as Spanish for revenue purposes whatever our claims."⁹³ Such measures caused the utmost inconvenience to the Spanish occupants of West Florida, for it was largely dependent upon the United States, receiving its foodstuffs from the Tombigbee and other settlements of the American west and its manufactured articles by way of New Orleans.

The immediate occasion for the Spanish concessions in the matter of commerce seems to have been the feud between Morales and Folch⁹⁴ and their factions. Like all the colonial governors of his generation, Folch was more attentive to the needs of the colonists and the strategic requirements of the situation than to the orders of the court. For his part, Morales differed from other Spanish intendants only in that he possessed an even greater veneration for the letter of the law and an exceptionally quarrelsome disposition. A personal difficulty, already several years old, sharpened the natural antagonism of governor and intendant. Upon the delivery of Louisiana to France, Folch seized the opportunity to vex his enemy by declaring that the intendant's authority in West Florida was at an end, since it was derived from his commission as intendant of Louisiana and all Louisiana commissions had expired with its cession. The governor accordingly arrogated to himself the functions

⁹² This was asserted in the report of a meeting of the *Junta de Real Hacienda* at Pensacola on March 10, 1806 (enclosure No. 5 in despatch No. 402 from Morales to Soler, March 31, 1806; Document No. XXIX).

⁹³ Quoted in Cox, *West Florida Controversy*, p. 220.

⁹⁴ Documents, note 203.

of the intendency. The argument was a weak one and was overruled by the court;⁹⁵ but its order was not received in Florida until December, 1805, and in the interval Folch had made some sweeping changes in the commercial system of the province. These changes neither Morales nor his superiors could materially modify.

One of these measures, Folch's order of 1804, authorizing John Forbes and Company, the successors of Panton, Leslie and Company, to engage in general commerce with the colonists, has already been discussed.⁹⁶ In the same year, he abolished the six per cent import duty imposed by Morales on shipments from New Orleans to West Florida under the Spanish flag, and even advised Spaniards to fly the American flag in order to escape capture and facilitate their operations at New Orleans. Although the court, prodded by Morales's protest, reversed the order,⁹⁷ Morales himself was forced to re-enact it when he took up his residence in West Florida in 1806. After conferring with a *Junta de Real Hacienda* on March 10, he threw open the commerce of West Florida to all neutral nations (in effect, as Morales recognized, this meant the United States), permitted the exportation of specie and, for the time being, abolished all duties on imports and exports.⁹⁸ A more complete reversal of the Spanish system could hardly have been made, but Morales protected himself against the wrath of his superiors by arguing that what Folch had done could not be undone, by pleading the unanimous advice of the *Junta* and by citing as precedents similar measures adopted in Louisiana in 1797 and 1798.⁹⁹ Fortunately for him, the case was referred to one of the most liberal officials at the Spanish court, who reported that these concessions should not only be approved but perhaps even extended. A royal order confirming the action of Morales was accordingly issued on November 7, 1806.¹⁰⁰

In another affair of still greater importance, Folch committed Spain well-nigh irrevocably. This was the question of the naviga-

⁹⁵ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2608 *moderno*, Morales to Soler, December 31, 1805, No. 387, enclosing a copy of a letter from Folch to Morales dated Pensacola, December 6, 1805.

⁹⁶ Document No. XXVIII. See Introduction, p. liv.

⁹⁷ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2670 *moderno*, royal order to the Commandant of West Florida (Folch), San Ildefonso, September 20, 1805.

⁹⁸ Document No. XXIX.

⁹⁹ For the concession made in 1797, see p. xlix and note 74 of this Introduction; for the concession of 1798, see Document No. XXV.

¹⁰⁰ A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2665, *informe* by Francisco Viana, October 20, 1806; *ibid.*, draft of royal order to Morales, San Lorenzo, November 7, 1806.

tion of the Mobile River by the citizens of the United States. We shall not attempt to give a full account of this affair, for its ramifications extend far beyond the limits of the present volume and its complexities were so intricate that as late as August, 1807, the court itself did not know whether the Mobile River was open or closed to the Americans, and, if open, by what authority and on what conditions.¹⁰¹ It is enough to say that from the beginning of 1804 Folch permitted the Americans to carry on trade between the Tombigbee settlements and New Orleans by way of Mobile on the payment of duties totaling twelve per cent of the value of the cargo (six per cent on both importation and exportation) at Mobile; that Morales put a stop to the traffic in March, 1806; and that, on the pretext of the critical situation created by the Burr Conspiracy, Folch used his superior authority as governor to reopen it in September of the same year.¹⁰² Intendant and governor both appealed to the captain general at Havana, Someruelos, who, having no desire to burn his fingers, promptly referred the matter back to them, directing Folch to settle it in a *Junta de Guerra*, whose decision should be made in the light of all pertinent laws and orders and of relations with the United States and should be submitted to the captain general for his approval. Folch paid no attention to this order, and when the court called on him in August, 1807, for information as to the status of the affair, he calmly replied that he had been too busy to assemble the *Junta de Guerra* and that the river was still open to the Americans subject to the payment of the twelve per cent duty. Just as this cavalier reply was received at Madrid in 1808, civil war broke out. The officials within whose province the question lay fled with the Bourbon faction to Seville; the Florida correspondence remained at Madrid; and there for the time being the affair rested.¹⁰³ And so up to the

¹⁰¹ A.H.N., Est., leg. 5539, *expediente* on the navigation of the Mobile River, representation beginning: "Exmo. S^{or} Es bien sabido que el Rio Mobila . . .," dated in pencil, December, 1806.

¹⁰² A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2356, Folch to Cevallos, Pensacola, June 1, 1808, No. 10, unsigned copy; Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-187.

¹⁰³ Representation cited in note 101; *ibid.*, representation beginning: "Exmo. S^{or} Lo que fundadam^{te} recelabamos . . .," endorsed at the end, "February 10, 1808." Folch's responsibility for opening the navigation of the Mobile to the Americans—an act that deprived the court of a useful weapon in the diplomatic controversy with the United States—was probably the fundamental reason for his removal from command at Pensacola in October, 1811. The representation cited *ante*, in note 101 indicates that he would probably have been removed at an earlier date but for the upheaval that occurred in Spain in 1808.

end of our period the "indomitable Catalan," as Folch was known at court, had his way in this as in most of the other essential matters relating to the commerce of West Florida.

Jefferson's embargo completed the destruction of Spain's commercial system in this province. So dependent was it upon the trade with New Orleans in both foodstuffs and manufactured goods that the embargo threatened it with utter ruin. After a vain endeavor to obtain a relaxation of the measure, Intendant Morales issued an order which was obviously designed to defeat the American embargo through American navigation of the Mobile River;¹⁰⁴ and Governor Folch thought himself fortunate to be able to make a contract with an American firm for the smuggling of 1500 barrels of flour from New Orleans to Pensacola.¹⁰⁵ It is not unlikely that, as the Spanish officials suspected, Jefferson hoped to squeeze Spain out of West Florida by commercial pressure.¹⁰⁶ His effort did not meet with immediate success, but it did prepare the way for the early extension of American sovereignty over that region by hastening the disintegration of the Spanish system.

In the Floridas as in Louisiana, American economic penetration was facilitated by the European war. Forgotten or neglected by the combatants, those provinces had to use American shipping or none at all; and, absorbed in the *mêlée*, Spain ceased to insist that colonial planters and shopkeepers should eat Vera Cruz flour at fifteen dollars a barrel instead of American flour at ten dollars a barrel. The hats and shoes, guns and tools which they used, though British, were brought along with American provisions in American ships. The skins and hides of Florida, like the sugar and cotton of Louisiana, either left Pensacola and St. Augustine under the American flag or were hurried to Charleston, Savannah, or some

¹⁰⁴ Document No. XXX.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, note 215. Cox, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-222, gives valuable information about the relation of the embargo to West Florida, and shows that James Wilkinson may have been connected with the smuggling of American flour into that province. See also Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, IV, 157-160.

¹⁰⁶ The Spanish government was convinced that the embargo was designed to starve West Florida into surrender (A.H.N., Est., leg. 5549, representation beginning: "Señor. El Capitan General de las Dos Floridas con fha de 18 de Junio del presente ano [1808] . . ."). On August 12, 1808, Jefferson himself wrote the secretary of war that "The enforcing the embargo would furnish a pretext for taking the nearest healthy position to Saint Mary's, and on the waters of Tombigbee" (quoted in Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 117). According to Folch, Governor Claiborne was instructed to enforce the embargo "with all severity" against West Florida (Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 219).

other American port, where the voyage was broken and the cargoes were sent on to their destination in American bottoms. The war, however, merely hastened the inevitable. A study of the commerce of these border colonies in the period from 1783 to 1793 shows that Spain was powerless in time of peace as well as in time of war to meet their needs. The propinquity of the United States, the topography of the country and the aptitude of the Yankees for trade and navigation were breaking down the legal impediments by which Spain sought to exclude the contagion of republican goods and ideas from its barrier colonies. The war merely finished what peace had begun. The commercial conquest of the Floridas was virtually complete by 1808, and the chief instruments of this conquest were flour and a neutral flag.¹⁰⁷

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¹⁰⁷ For some considerations on the larger significance of the commerce of the Floridas and Louisiana under Spain, see Whitaker, "The Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas," *loc. cit.*, pp. 202, 203.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I. *Manuscript Sources*

MOST of the documents here published were found in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. The three sections of these archives that are richest in material relating to the Floridas and Louisiana are the Papeles de Cuba, the Audiencia de Santo Domingo, and Indiferente General. Mr. Roscoe R. Hill's *Guide* to the first-named of these sections is indispensable. For the other sections the investigator has no better guide than the brief manuscript inventories on file in the office of the chief of the archives. More detailed inventories are in preparation, but when the writer was last in Spain (1929) the work on these had not progressed very far. Even so the investigator has more to guide him in these archives than in the Sección de Estado of the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid, from which the remaining documents in this book were obtained, with the exception of one document which comes from the East Florida Papers of the Library of Congress. For the Madrid collection, as for those at Seville, a detailed inventory is in preparation, but at present this inventory exists only in the form of a card catalogue to which access can be obtained only with considerable difficulty. No serviceable inventory whatever is regularly available even to the accredited investigator. If it were not for the obliging and highly competent chief of this section, Don Miguel Gómez de Campillo (now chief of the Archivo Histórico Nacional), the collection would be of little use to the historian. It contains a mass of materials of great value not only for the diplomatic history but also for many other phases of Spanish-American relations, and it is badly in need of a guide comparable to Roscoe R. Hill's *Guide* to the Papeles de Cuba.

The present writer also consulted a number of *legajos* in the Archivo General de Simancas, in the sections entitled "Embajada de Inglaterra" and "Guerra," but found no documents that seemed to deserve a place in this book.

While no documents were obtained from French archives, they yielded some interesting information, which is incorporated in the accompanying notes. The writer's work in this respect was facili-

tated by Mrs. N. M. M. Surrey's *Calendar of Manuscripts in the Paris Archives relating to the Mississippi Valley*. The galley proof of the portion of this work covering the period 1793-1803 was very kindly placed at the disposal of the writer by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The East Florida Papers (Library of Congress, Manuscript Division) contain valuable information regarding the commerce of the province from 1784 through the period covered in the present work. Especially important are the shipping records and the correspondence of the governor with the captain general and the intendant at Havana, the Treasury Department at Madrid, and the consular agents of Spain in the United States. A card catalogue, chronologically arranged, constitutes a useful guide to them.

Attention should be called to the numerous collections of transcripts and photographic copies of Spanish documents now available in the United States. For the subject of the present work the most valuable are those of the Florida State Historical Society (in the office of the executive secretary of the Society, Dr. James A. Robertson, Takoma Park, Maryland), and those of the Library of Congress.

II. Printed Sources

THE present volume is a pioneer work, and the printed sources are meager. So far as the writer has been able to ascertain, only two of the documents here given have previously appeared in print. One of these, the *cédula* of 1782 (Document No. IV) was published without the preamble by M. Serrano y Sanz in *España y los Indios Cheroquis y Chactas en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII* (Seville, 1916). The other, which consists of selections from the confidential instructions of 1787 to the Junta de Estado (Document No. VIII), was published along with the rest of those instructions in *Obras Originales del Conde de Floridablanca (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. L, Madrid, 1899)*. The "Political Reflections" of Martín Navarro, in James A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States, 1785-1807* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1911), relates in part to West Florida. There are also some pertinent documents in *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1912), edited by Manuel Serrano y Sanz.

III. *Secondary Works*

THE following list of books and articles is not an exhaustive bibliography. It contains only the more important of the works cited in the notes, and is appended for the convenience of the reader.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.G.I.	Archivo General de Indias.
A.G.S.	Archivo General de Simancas.
A.H.N.	Archivo Histórico Nacional.
Est.	Sección de Estado (A.H.N.).
Exp.	Expediente.
P.C.	Papeles de Cuba (A.G.I.).
Res.	Reservada (reservado), <i>i.e.</i> , confidential.
Sto. Dom.	Audiencia de Santo Domingo (A.G.I.).

DOCUMENTOS REFERENTES A LA
POLÍTICA COMERCIAL DE ESPAÑA
EN LAS FLORIDAS

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE
COMMERCIAL POLICY OF SPAIN
IN THE FLORIDAS

I. RESUMEN DE UNA REPRESENTACIÓN DEL AÑO DE 1778
DE MANUEL DE LAS HERAS HECHO EN EL PARDO
SOBRE LA DECADENCIA DEL COMERCIO.

El Pardo, 9 de Enero de 1779

[Pág. 1]

†

El Pardo 9 de Enero de 1779.

El S^{or} Conde de Florida-blanca

Remite una representacion de d^a Manuel de las Heras Consul de España en Burdeos sobre la decadencia del comercio que hacen los españoles en la Luisiana, y los medios de restaurarle, y ponerle en estado floreciente.

Antes de proponerlos se hace cargo de que es necesario examinar 1^o sobre que reglas está establecido el comercio con esta Colonia, 2^o que generos tienen en ella mejor despacho: 3^o cuales son sus producciones: 4^o como sacan los estrangeros sus utilidades: 5^o por que los nacionales [pág. 2] experimentan siempre perdidas.

1^o Basta pasar la vista por el Real decreto de 23 de Marzo de 1768 p^a convencerse que se han buscado cuantos arvitrios han parecido oportunos para hacer la felicidad de aquella Provincia; fomentando su comercio con absoluta libertad de derechos de los generos que se embarcan en la Peninsula para la Nueva-Orleans, y sugutando las producciones que bienen de ella á la corta imposicion de un quatro por ciento reducido despues á dos.

2^o Apenas se encontrará mercaderia en Europa que no tenga despacho en la Luisiana; pero las que con particularidad se consumen son las Mouselinas, Indianas, y toda especie de texidos de Algodon de las Fabricas Inglesas y Francesas; los vinos [pág. 3] estrangeros en especial los de Burdeos; y los fusiles, polvora, valas, y perdigones tan necesarios para la Caza de Venados, y otros animales silvestres, cuyas pieles constituyen uno de los primeros ramos de su comercio.

3^o Se sabe que aquella Colonia es de grande estension; sus diferentes climas, aunque no corresponden á las latitudes respectivas de los de Europa, tienen sus mismas variedades en distinta graduacion. Su suelo es fertilisimo, mayormente el que es beneficiado por el limo que dejan las inundaciones del Misisipi. Sus producciones son Arroz, Maiz, Lino, Cañamo, y Añil de que se hacen actualm^{te} mas de Cien

I. SUMMARY OF A REPRESENTATION OF 1778 BY MANUEL DE LAS HERAS¹ RELATIVE TO THE DECAY OF COMMERCE.

El Pardo, January 9, 1779

[P. 1]

†

El Pardo, January 9, 1779.

Count Floridablanca

Remits a representation by Don Manuel de las Heras,² consul of Spain at Bordeaux, on the decay of the commerce carried on by Spaniards in Louisiana, and on the means of restoring it and making it flourish.

Before suggesting the means, he is aware that it is necessary to examine (1) the existing rules that govern commerce with this colony; (2) what commodities have the best sale there; (3) what its products are; (4) how foreigners derive advantages from it; (5) why Spaniards [p. 2] always suffer losses.

1. A glance at the royal decree of March 23, 1768,³ is enough to convince one that every convenient measure has been sought in order to promote the happiness of that province, for its commerce has been encouraged by exempting from any duty whatever the commodities which are exported from the Peninsula to New Orleans, and the products that come from it have been subjected to the low duty of four per cent, later reduced to two.

2. There is hardly any kind of merchandise in Europe for which there is not a market in Louisiana, but those that are used most extensively are muslins, printed calicoes, and all kinds of cotton fabrics from the English and French factories; foreign wines, [p. 3] especially those of Bordeaux; and the guns, powder, balls, and shot, which are so necessary in hunting deer and other wild animals, whose skins constitute one of the principal branches of its commerce.

3. It is well known that that colony is very extensive. Its different climates, although they do not correspond to the respective latitudes of those of Europe, have the same variety in different gradations. Its soil is most fertile, especially that part of it which is benefited by the silt left by the floods of the Mississippi. Its products are rice, maize, flax, hemp, and indigo, of which at present they

mil quintales al año: las pieles de venado, Castor, Lutres, Ciervos, Civolos, y otras esquisitas ofrecen un ramo de comercio [pág. 4] mui lucrativo: la Brea, Alquitran, y Maderas se encuentran con abundancia: el Tabaco brota con tanta facilidad, y es de calidad tan excelente, que fomentado su cultivo se pudiera proveer de el á varias Potencias señaladamente á la Francia. Esta se vé precisada á comprar anualm^{te} mas de ciento y setenta mil quintales á quien tal vez no hace el mejor uso de esta contribucion, por que lo proporciona á los arrendadores generales á catorce, ó quince quartos la libra, precio á que no puede darse en otros parages.

[4º] Para hacerse cargo de las utilidades que sacan los estrangeros de la Luisiana no hai mas que ver su *situacion*, y la *de las Colonias Inglesas unicamente separadas por el Misisipi*. Esta intermediacion [pág. 5] facilita modos de indagar los renglones q^e mas se necesitan en ella, y de introducirlos sin riesgo: por que *quando van* subiendo los barcos Britanicos desde su *embocadura hasta la Nueva Orleans* que hai mas de treinta leguas, *tienen proporcion de ir descargando quanto salen á pedirles los havitantes de las casas inmediatas á las margenes del Rio: sin que se pueda inventar medio alguno de embarazarlo*, si se considera por una parte la larga distancia, y por otra que aquella navegacion ha de ser mui lenta á causa de que la espesura de los bosques no dexa libre la correspondencia de los vientos.

Los Franceses hacen tambien el contrabando: como han logrado permiso de ir con sus Navios en lastre á cargar de maderas con destino á sus Colonias, [pág. 6] se valen de él para llevar toda especie de tegidos de sus Fabricas, y otros muchos efectos, sobre todo sus vinos que tienen asombroso despacho, y en retorno sacan quantos frutos les pueden convenir. Solo en Burdeos hai varios comerciantes que emplean sus Navios en estas expediciones, y señaladamente un nombrado La Fite tiene quatro que carga de mui buenos surtimientos, los envia al Guarico, alli se refrendan sus pasaportes, y despues pasan con toda su cargazon á la Nueva-Orleans de donde traen en retorno Añil, Tabaco, Pielles, y otras cosas con notable aumento de sus caudales.

5º La experiencia acredita que no va embarcacion nuestra á aquella Colonia que no venga escarmentada despues de haver malvaratado su cargamento, [pág. 7] y padecido mucho para lograr algun retorno. Pudiera el Consul citar un sin numero de exem-

produce more than one hundred thousand quintals a year. The skins of deer, beavers, otters, stags, buffaloes, and other fine skins offer a very lucrative [p. 4] branch of commerce. Tar, pitch, and lumber are found in abundance. Tobacco grows so readily, and is of such excellent quality, that by encouraging its cultivation, we could provide other powers with it, notably France. The latter finds itself obliged to buy annually more than one hundred and seventy thousand quintals, and perhaps the best use is not made of this source of revenue, since the tobacco is furnished to the wholesale buyers at fourteen or fifteen cuartos a pound, a price at which it cannot be obtained in any other quarter.

[4]. In order to realize the profits which foreigners derive from Louisiana it is necessary only to regard its *location* and that of *the English colonies which are separated from it by the Mississippi alone*. This propinquity [p. 5] makes it easy to inquire into the articles that are most needed there and to introduce them without risk; for, *as the British ships go upstream from the mouth to New Orleans*, a distance of more than thirty leagues, *they have an opportunity to unload as they go whatever is desired by the inhabitants of the houses situated on the banks of the river*. Nor is it possible to find any means of preventing them, if we consider, on the one hand, the great distance and, on the other, that their progress upstream is necessarily very slow since the densely wooded forests do not give free access to the winds.

The French also carry on illicit trade. Since they have obtained permission to go with their ships in ballast to load lumber for their colonies, [p. 6] they avail themselves of the opportunity to carry all kinds of fabrics from their factories, as well as many other commodities, above all their wines, which have an amazing sale; and in return they take whatever products they find convenient. In Bordeaux alone there are many merchants who employ their ships in these expeditions, notably a man named La Fitte. He has four ships, which he sends with well assorted cargoes to Guarico, where their passports are countersigned, and they then proceed with their cargoes intact to New Orleans, whence they take in return indigo, tobacco, skins, and other articles, thereby adding considerably to his wealth.

5. Experience shows that no ship of ours ever goes to that colony that does not return sadder but wiser after having sold its cargo at a loss [p. 7] and having had great difficulty in obtaining any kind of return cargo. The consul [Las Heras] could give any number

plares; mas se contenta con presentar uno que el solo prueba la verdad de su asercion. En el año de 1777 hizo la Casa de Larralde en sⁿ Sebastian una expedicion de un Navio cuya cargazon ascendió á 27U p⁸ y de ellos solam^{te} pudo sacar 12U. resultandole 15U de pura perdida, fuera de los gastos de Armamento, salarios de la tripulacion, y otros indispensables. De 98 barricas de vino de la Rioja no le fué posible despachar siquiera una; pues aquellos naturales manifestaban tanta repugnancia acia el quando le provaban que parecia havian tomado algun vomitivo. De aqui há resultado que dicho comerciante há renunciado para siempre al comercio en aquella Provincia [pág. 8] cuyo exemplo imitaran al fin los demas del Reyno.

Parece ciertamente un enigma q^e donde el estrangero asegura su ganancia, encuentre el español su ruina: pero nada hai mas claro de descifrar si se hace la debida distincion del modo q^e usan los unos, y del q^e por precision han de observar los otros.

Los primeros pueden dar sus generos un quarenta por ciento mas varato q^e los segundos, los quales pagan un 15. por % á su ingreso en España, los reciben de segunda mano, y en esta operacion hai comisiones q^e pagar, gastos de Almacenes, cargas, y descargas, ningun ahorro en las compras, y poca satisfaccion en la calidad. Los Franceses llevan sus vinos q^e pagan los Luisianos [pág. 9] á qualquier precio: los Españoles por el contrario como no pueden llevar si no los de cosecha propria no encuentran quien se los compre. A esto les está prohibido de cargar de fusiles, Polvora, valas, y perdigones, y á aquellos les es facil introducir estos efectos y venderlos como quieren.

La misma desigualdad se verifica en los retornos. Los Españoles han de venir á los Puertos de la Peninsula á presentar su registro; en ellos no hallan facil despacho los Añiles, peleterias y otras cosas, y se ven precisados á transportarlos al estrangero, despues de haver estado mucho tiempo embarcados y padecido algun deterioro por razon de la polilla ó de la humedad. Los Franceses van en derecho á donde les tiene mas cuenta sin estar tan [pág. 10] expuestos á este riesgo, por la brevedad con q^e se les proporcionan las ventas. La Plata ú Oro q^e traen de la Colonia entra en sus Puertos con absoluta libertad de derechos, y asi logran darla á premio exorbitante: pero la que conducen nuestros Navios á España á causa de los derechos q^e paga no dexa beneficio alguno en el cambio. Los Tabacos q^e estos conducen se hán de extraer del Reyno sin

of instances, but he contents himself with mentioning a single one, which alone proves the truth of his assertion. In 1777, the firm of Larralde of San Sebastian sent a ship with a cargo worth 27,000 pesos, which was sold for only 12,000, leaving an absolute loss of 15,000, without counting the expenses of equipment, wages of the crew, and other necessary items. Of 98 casks of claret [*Rioja*], it was not possible to sell a single one, for, when the colonists tasted it, they manifested as much repugnance for it as if they had taken an emetic. The result of this experience was that the merchant forever renounced trade with that province [p. 8] and the other merchants of the kingdom will ultimately follow his example.

It certainly appears puzzling that, where the foreigner is sure of profit, the Spaniard meets his ruin; but nothing could be easier to explain if one makes the necessary distinction between the procedure which is employed by the former and that which the latter are forced to adopt.

The former can sell their goods forty per cent cheaper than the latter, who pay a fifteen per cent duty upon their importation into Spain and receive them at second hand. In this operation there are commissions to pay; charges for storage, loading and unloading; and there is no saving in the purchasing and little satisfaction in the quality of the goods. The French carry their wines, for which the Louisianians will pay [p. 9] no matter what price; the Spaniards, on the other hand, since they can take only their own domestic wines, find no one who will buy them. The latter are prohibited from loading guns, powder, balls, and shot, while it is easy for the former to introduce these articles and sell them at will.

The same inequality exists in regard to the goods brought back in return. The Spaniards are obliged to come to the ports of the Peninsula to present their register. In these ports the indigo, peltry, and other things do not find a ready market, and they are compelled to send them on to a foreign country after they have been on board a long time and have suffered some deterioration because of worms or moisture. The French go straight to the place that suits them best without being so long [p. 10] exposed to this risk, for the winds give them a shorter voyage. The silver and gold that they bring from the colony [Louisiana] enters their ports absolutely duty free, and thus they are able to sell it at a very great premium; but the gold and silver that our ships bring to Spain, because of the duties which they have to pay leave no profit at all on the exchange. The tobacco which the latter bring has to

poderlos llevar á Guipuzcoa para su consumo ; los Franceses pueden llevarlos á vender á esta Provincia, por que para q^e se recivan en ella han de proceder del extranjero ; maxima que en la Teorica podrá presentar algo de favorable, pero en la practica solo conduce á facilitar á aquel el despacho de sus Tabacos en perjuicio de nuestros cosecheros, y comerciantes, de q^e se infiere [pág. 11] q^e es forzoso q^e estos sean la victima de su especulacion.

De todo lo expuesto se deduce claramente q^e es necesario tomar una providencia eficaz para que nuestros navegantes no padezcan semejantes perjuicios, y que los colonos sean provistos de quanto les sea necesario, util, y agradable, nos permuten sus producciones, y de consiguiente se fomente aquella vasta Provincia.

Convendria pues permitir que nuestras embarcaciones q^e quisieran dedicarse á este comercio tuviesen libertad de hacer sus cargamentos en qualquiera Puerto extranjero que les pareciese, formandose por el Consul ó Viceconsul, q^e huviera en el, una factura de quanto se embarcase para aquel [pág. 12] destino. la q^e deberia presentar en uno de los Puertos havilitados de España, donde se les obligaria á dar una fianza que respondiese del desembarco de las mercaderias en la Luisiana, á cuyo efecto traeria una Certificacion de los Oficiales R^s q^e acreditase su legitimo paradero. Ygualm^{te} seria oportuno que por el termino de 10. años concediese V.M. franquicia de toda especie de derechos de quanto cargasen fuera de España, y fuesen á descargar en la Colonia: que pudiesen llevar vinos extranjeros pagando el 4 por % de entrada en la Nueva-Orleans sobre el valor á que se vendiesen: que conduxesen fusiles, y municiones para caza ; señalandose á cada Navio el numero q^e pudiese llevar: que los Tabacos que retornasen [pág. 13] los pudieran vender en Guipuzcoa ; y q^e quando mas se les detuviese en España en el Puerto donde huviesen de presentar su registro el termino de ocho días, para hacer la visita y pagar el 2 por % de toda la cargazon, despues de lo qual les seria licito ír á despacharla al Reyno q^e les pareciese.

Con este nuevo metodo se consiguen todos los fines propuestos, se destruye el contrabando q^e hacen los estrangeros, se aumenta la poblacion de la Colonia por q^e se abren nuevos caminos p^a asegurar

be exported from the kingdom without the possibility of taking it to Guipúzcoa for sale; [but] the French can take theirs and sell it in that province, because only tobacco of foreign origin can be sold there—a maxim which may theoretically offer some advantage, but which in practice only results in providing the French with a better market for their tobacco to the prejudice of our own planters and merchants, from which one infers [p. 11] that the latter are inevitably the victims of their enterprise.

From what has been said, it is a clear deduction that it is necessary to take efficacious measures in order that our navigators shall not suffer such losses, and that the colonists may be provided with whatever may be necessary, useful, and agreeable to them and may exchange their products with us, and that consequently that vast province may be developed.

It would be proper, then, to permit those of our ships which may wish to engage in this trade to have the privilege of obtaining their cargoes in whatever foreign port they may choose, the consul or vice consul at such port drawing up a bill of lading of whatever may be taken on board for that [p. 12] destination. This bill of lading would have to be presented in one of the habilitated ports⁴ of Spain, where bond would have to be given guaranteeing the unloading of the goods in Louisiana, for which purpose there would also be taken a signed statement from the royal officials certifying their proper delivery. Likewise it would be proper for your Majesty to grant that, for a period of ten years, all cargoes loaded outside of Spain and unloaded in the colony [Louisiana] should be free from every kind of duty; that foreign wines might be carried there, subject to the payment of a four per cent import duty in New Orleans, computed according to the selling price; that guns and munitions for hunting might be taken, determining in the case of each ship the quantity that it might carry; that the returns in tobacco [p. 13] might be sold in Guipúzcoa; and that in the Spanish port where they have to present their register they should never be detained more than a week for the purpose of the inspection and the payment of the two per cent duty on the whole cargo, after which they should be free to go and dispose of it in whatever country they please.

Under this new system all the objects that have been proposed will be attained, the contraband trade that foreigners are carrying on will be destroyed, the population of the colony will be increased because new roads will be opened to assure them a livelihood, and a

la subsistencia, y de una Provincia en el dia gravosa á España, se hace una de las mas ricas y utiles de la America.

Ningun otro arvitrio puede llenar tan exactam^{te} todas las medidas: [pág. 14] por q^e el enviar nuevos Pobladores á la Colonia trae crecidos gastos al Estado: El hacerlo como en algun tiempo lo executó la Francia llenando aquellos parages de la escoria de la Metropoli, seria aumentar el numero de holgazanes q^e perecerian de hambre, y de sentimiento de verse obligados á emprender unos trabajos á q^e no estarian acostumbrados y verosimilm^{te} no entenderian: el formar una Compañia exclusiva está sugeto á los inconvenientes q^e se tocan en las que hai y há havido en la America; las q^e solo han servido para enriquecerse los dependientes en detrimento de los accionistas; ademas de q^e qualquiera q^e se estableciese en la Luisiana tendria las mismas resultas q^e la erigida por [pág. 15] el famoso Law; y el dexar la Colonia en el estado actual seria querer su total decadencia.

II. RESUMEN DE UN INFORME DEL GOBERNADOR BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ SOBRE LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE MANUEL DE LAS HERAS A NUEVA ORLEANS, EN 24 DE OCTUBRE DE 1778.

Aranjuez, 2 de Mayo de 1779

[Pág. 15]

Ynforme del
Govern^r de la
Luisiana d^o Bern^{do}
de Galvez.

El Gobernador de la Luisiana á cuyo informe se remitió esta representacion en 17 de Febrero, dice con fha de 24 de Octubre, q^e encuentra fundadas todas las reflexiones del Consul; q^e es evidente la necesidad de mudar el sistema de comercio en aquella Colonia: pero sin embargo no se conforma enteramente con el arbitrio q^e propone.

Para demostrar qual puede convenir en las circunstancias actuales se vé en la precision de exponer antes algunos otros *hechos, y reflexiones que yá havia comunicado confidencialm^{te} por el mes de Enero*, despues de muchas [pág. 16] y exactas observaciones hechas en el periodo de un año.

No puede negarse q^e si el comercio de España há de subsistir en la propria forma q^e hasta aqui, bolverá á convertirse la Colonia en un Desierto, transtornandose enteramente el proyecto ventajoso y

province which today is burdensome to Spain will become one of the richest and most profitable in America.

No other measure can meet all the requirements so fully, [p. 14] for to send new settlers to the colony would cause the government heavy expense. To do this, as France did at one time, filling that region with the scum of the Mother Country, would be to increase the number of loafers who would die of hunger and of grief at finding themselves obliged to undertake tasks to which they were not accustomed and which probably they would not understand. The formation of a monopolistic company is subject to the disadvantages that such companies past and present have experienced in America, which have served only to enrich the employees at the expense of the shareholders.⁵ And besides, any company that might be established in Louisiana would have the same result as the one founded by [p. 15] the famous Law.⁶ And to leave the colony in its present state would be to will its complete decay.

II. SUMMARY OF A REPORT BY GOVERNOR BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ AT NEW ORLEANS, ON OCTOBER 24, 1778, ON THE REPRESENTATION BY MANUEL DE LAS HERAS.⁷

Aranjuez, May 2, 1779

[P. 15]

The governor of Louisiana, to whom this representation⁸ was sent on February 17, [1778], says, under date of October 24, that he finds all the reflections of the consul well grounded; that the necessity of changing the commercial system of that colony is evident; but that, nevertheless, he does not entirely approve of all the measures proposed.

In order to show what measures would be suitable in the present circumstances, he finds it necessary first to set forth some other *facts and reflections which he had already communicated confidentially in the month of January*, after frequent [p. 16] and close observations made during the course of one year.

It cannot be denied that if the commerce of Spain must continue in the same form as hitherto, the colony will once more become a desert, and the advantageous and well conceived project of consti-

Report of the
governor of
Louisiana, Don
Bernardo de
Gálvez.

bien concebido de formarse de ella una barrera entre la America Inglesa, y el Ymperio de Mexico.

Los comerciantes Españoles intimidados de las continuas perdidas que alli padecen, y atraidos por las lisongeras esperanzas de hallar ganancias seguras en las costas del Perú, Chile, y margenes del Rio de la Plata, es regular q^e lleguen á abandonar la Luisiana, y q^e esta Provincia quede en la precision de mantenerse del contrabando ó de despoblarse.

[Pág. 17] Nada puede mantener las conexiones entre aquellos naturales y los de esta Peninsula, por que les falta la utilidad q^e es el alma del negocio. Puntualm^{te} casi no tienen consumo en la Colonia los frutos propios de España; ni tampoco hai alli alguno con q^e hacer un retorno q^e aqui dexe ganancias.

Las cosechas del Pais son Añil, Tabaco, Madera, Arroz, Maiz y algun Algodon: todos estos renglones son inferiores en calidad á los q^e producen las otras Provincias de America. Goatemala dá el mejor Añil q^e se conoce y en mas abundancia q^e pueden consumir nuestras Fabricas: la Havana, Santo Domingo, las demas Yslas y Costas de Nueva-España producen maderas exquisitas, siendo Asi q^e las mejores de la Luisiana son el Cipres q^e es una especie de Pino inferior, y el Roble solam^{te} [pág. 18] proprio á la construccion: los Tabacos aun que buenos son inferiores á los de la Havana: el Arroz y Maiz son cosechas que dexan poca utilidad y q^e no tienen exportacion. ¿Como pues se há de verificar un comercio entre España, y aquella Colonia quando una ni otra pueden darse reciprocamente lo q^e necesitan?

Añadase que el principal ramo q^e sostiene aquella Provincia es la Peleteria: su adquisicion se hace con los Yndios no á cambio de dinero sino de efectos franceses q^e son los unicos q^e estiman por q^e á ellos solos estan acostumbrados. En estas gentes tiene el vso mas fuerza q^e la razon: una escopeta de Madrid ó una pieza de Grana p^a ellos nada vale en comparacion de un pedazo de paño de Limbur, y un fusil frances q^e cuesta alli de dos y medio á tres pesos. Aun quando los Yndios no [pág. 19] diesen la preferencia á los efectos franceses, no llevarian otros los tratantes, por q^e solo con ellos pueden lograr alguna utilidad. El Yndio está ya sobre el pie de dar tantas pieles por un Fusil, un cuchillo, un caldero &^a estos efectos cuestan al tratante a un precio baxo, y la venta q^e hace de sus pieles al comerciante le dexan una moderada ganancia, q^e á penas le

tuting it a barrier between English America and the Empire of Mexico will be utterly destroyed.

Since the merchants of Spain are frightened by the continual losses that they suffer there and are attracted by the flattering hope of finding safe profits on the coasts of Peru and Chile and on the banks of La Plata River, it is but natural that they should finally abandon Louisiana and that this province should be left with no choice but to maintain itself by contraband or else to be depopulated.

[P. 17] Nothing can maintain the connections between the people of that province and those of this Peninsula, because they lack profit, which is the soul of business. To be precise, the domestic products of Spain have almost no market in the colony; nor is there any product there with which a return might profitably be made.

The crops of that country are indigo, tobacco, lumber, rice, maize, and some cotton. All these are inferior in quality to those which the other provinces in America produce. Guatemala yields the best indigo known and in larger quantities than our factories can use. Havana, Santo Domingo, the other islands, and the coasts of New Spain produce fine wood, while the best kinds of wood in Louisiana are the cypress, which is a species of inferior pine, and the oak, [p. 18] which is fit only for building. Its tobacco, although good, is inferior to that of Havana. Its rice and maize are crops that yield little profit and have no outlet. How then is it possible for trade to be carried on between Spain and that colony, when neither can provide what the other needs?

Let it be added that the principal branch [of commerce] which that province supports is peltry. This is obtained from the Indians not in exchange for money but for French goods, which are the only ones that they esteem because they are the only ones to which they are accustomed. Among these people usage is stronger than reason. A gun from Madrid or a piece of scarlet cloth is to them valueless in comparison with a scrap of Limburg cloth and a French musket that costs from two and a half to three pesos among them. Even if the Indians did not [p. 19] give French goods the preference, the traders would take no other kind, because with these alone can they make a profit. The Indian is already accustomed to give so many skins for a musket, a knife, a pot, etc. These articles cost the trader very little and the sale of the skins to the merchant leaves

recompensa los trabajos y peligros á que se expone peregrinando entre las Naciones barbaras. Sostituyanse los efectos españoles, ellos seran mas caros, el tratante no los comprará, los Yndios no los querrian, y de consiguiente concluirá el comercio interior de la Provincia, exponiendonos á perder la amistad de aquellos, y la tranquilidad de sus moradores.

Es cierto q^e alli se permiten las mercaderias francesas, como bayan en [pág. 20] embarcacion española y registradas en nuestras Aduanas. De la misma suerte permite V. M. q^e las naves q^e retornen de alli y no hallen compradores en los Puertos de España, despues de haver pagado los derechos de entrada puedan llevarlos librem^{te} á los de Francia.

Aqui se presentan por si mismas todas las dificultades q^e expone el Consul y otras de no menor consideracion: entre ellas por exemplo la Francia no perdonará á la salida, y entrada en sus puertos los dñs q^e tengan establecidos; cuya carga unida á la de dobles fletes, comisiones, seguros, averias, y demas á este modo há de producir inevitablemente uno de dos males: ó no han de poder sostener jamas los Españoles la concurrencia con los estrangeros, ó quando se supusiese asequible por q^e fueran los unicos vendedores en [pág. 21] los puertos de Europa, y no hubiera contrabando en la Colonia, todo valdria en esta doble, ó triple del precio regular, de modo q^e no podria sufrirlos, puesto q^e no tienen mas minas q^e la industria de sus naturales.

Tambien tiene V. M. permitida por Orden de 8 de Julio de 1776 la extraccion de los efectos de aquel Pais á las Colonias Francesas donde efectivam^{te} tienen un valor q^e no solo indemniza sino q^e Dexa ganancias; pero la circunstancia de que vayan en lastre las embarcaciones hace inutil este favor á menos q^e no hagan el contrabando.

A la verdad ¿como ha de dar el Colono ni el tratante sus producciones á quien nada le vende? Dicen las ordenes De V. M. q^e los Franceses pueden pagar en dinero, Letras de cambio ó en Negros: [pág. 22] en dinero ni letras de cambio no hai q^e esperar pague ninguna Nacion, y seriamos Dichosos de q^e con todas cambiasemos efectos por efectos; negros ya han ido algunos, pero no es solo negros lo q^e la Colonia necesita; sus habitantes han de vestir, comer, beber, y gozar aquellas comodidades sin las cuales no puede pasar una Nacion civilizada, y q^e van precisamente de Europa.

him a moderate profit which hardly compensates him for the hardships and dangers to which he is exposed while traveling about among these barbarous tribes. Substitute Spanish articles and they will be dearer, the trader will not buy them, the Indians would not have them, and consequently the internal commerce of the province will be done for, exposing us to the loss of the Indians' friendship and the colonists' tranquillity.

It is true that the importation of French merchandise is permitted there, provided it comes in [p. 20] Spanish ships and is registered at our customhouses. Likewise your Majesty permits ships which return thence and do not find buyers in the ports of Spain to proceed freely to the ports of France after having paid the import duties.

At this point arise inevitably all the difficulties described by the consul, as well as others of no less importance. Among these, for instance, France does not remit the established import and export duties in its ports. This charge, together with those of double freight, commissions, insurance, wear and tear, and others of the same kind must inevitably cause one of two evils: either the Spaniards will never be able to meet foreign competition, or else (even supposing this object were attainable through a monopoly [by Spaniards] of sales in [p. 21] European ports and through the suppression of contraband trade in the colony), everything there would cost two or three times the usual price, with the result that the colony could not bear the burden, since its only mines are the industry of its inhabitants.

Your Majesty has also permitted, by the order of July 8, 1776, the exportation of the products of that country [Louisiana] to the French colonies, where indeed they have a value that not only compensates but also yields a profit; but the requirement that the ships shall come in ballast deprives this privilege of any advantage unless the ships engage in illicit trade.

Frankly, how can the colonist or the trader give his products to one who sells him nothing? Your Majesty's orders declare that the French may pay in money, letters of exchange, or negroes. [p. 22] There is no hope that any nation will pay in money or letters of exchange, and we should be fortunate if we could exchange goods for goods with any of them. Some negroes have come, but it is not negroes alone that the colony needs. Its inhabitants must clothe themselves, eat, drink, and enjoy those comforts without which no civilized nation can exist and which come necessarily from Europe.

Los Españoles nada llevan, ni en el espacio de tiempo q^e está allí el Governador han llegado mas embarcaciones q^e las q^e van de la Havana con Aguardiente de Caña y Azucar: mas no pueden llevar Arina, vinos, ú otros muchos renglones de primera necesidad, ni tampoco ropas, pues ni los produce su suelo ni tiene fabricas.

En estas circunstancias es imposible [pág. 23] q^e se consiga el objeto de la prohibicion para el extranjero, pues como dice el Consul *se pasean en el Rio las embarcaciones Inglesas cargadas de lo necesario; y segun los tratados de paz no puede impedirseles q^e den fondo y se amarren donde mejor les parezca: ¿y q^e havitante teniendo á la puerta de su casa lo que necesita dexará de Aprovecharse de la ocasion de adquirirlo, no habiendo testigos q^e le acusen del fraude? ¿Que vigilancia, q^e fuerza, ó q^e resguardo será capaz de celar, é impedir este abuso en el espacio de cien leguas de Rio bordeado de havitaciones?*

Es evidente q^e interin q^e subsistan las cosas en la situacion actual la Colonia vá precipitadam^{te} á su ruina. Pero es menester examinar si el arvitrio que el Consul ofrece será tan eficaz p^a estorvarle [pág. 24] como el ha pensado.

El 1º y principal objeto q^e debe seguirse es fomentar la poblacion con suma prontitud; p^a esto es indispensable q^e reine en ella extraordinaria abundancia de todos los efectos de su uso, y facil, y ventajosa salida de los de su cosecha. Los Españoles solos no estan en estado de proporcionar lo uno, ni lo otro: pues aun quando se les permitiese mas de lo que pide el Consul, esto es llevar en derechura las mercaderias desde los Puertos extranjeros, y bolver á ellos, sin tocar á la ida, ni á la buelta en ninguno de la Peninsula, sin embargo no se lograria el fin.

En primer lugar pasaria mucho tiempo antes q^e se disipasen las desconfianzas y justos temores de perderse [pág. 25] q^e han concebido á vista de repetidos exemplares: despues seria necesario que p^a emprender este comercio fuesen estimulados de crecidas ganancias superiores á las q^e esperarían conseguir en los vastisimos dominios de America donde les es licito traficar: este interés seria contradictorio al de los Colonos q^e por necesidad deben comprar los efectos á precios mui moderados: y en fin nuestra Marina está

The Spaniards bring nothing, nor during the time that the present governor has been there have any [Spanish] ships arrived except those that come from Havana with rum and sugar; but they cannot bring flour, wines, and many other articles of prime necessity, nor yet clothing, since its [Cuba's] soil does not produce them and it [Cuba] has no factories.

In these circumstances it is impossible [p. 23] to attain the object of excluding foreigners, for, as the consul says, *English ships stocked with the necessary articles idle along the river and, according to the treaties of peace,⁹ they cannot be prevented from anchoring and mooring wherever they see fit.* And what inhabitant having what he needs at the door of his house will fail to take advantage of the opportunity to obtain it, since there are no witnesses to accuse him of fraud? *What vigilance, what force, or what body of customs officers would be able to keep watch and prevent this abuse over a distance of one hundred leagues of river whose banks are fringed with habitations?*

It is evident that so long as matters remain in the present situation the colony will continue precipitately to its ruin. But it is necessary to inquire whether the means suggested by the consul [*i.e.*, Las Heras] will so effectively prevent this [p. 24] as he thinks.

The first and principal object that should be pursued is to increase the population as quickly as possible. For this purpose, it is indispensable that the colony shall enjoy an extraordinary abundance of all the articles it consumes, and a ready and advantageous outlet for its products. Spaniards alone are not in a position to provide either the former or the latter; therefore, even if they should be granted more than the consul asks, namely, to import merchandise directly from foreign ports and to return to them, without touching at any port of the Peninsula, either coming or going, still the end would not be attained.

In the first place, a long time would elapse before the mistrust and justifiable fear of loss, the result of many experiences, would be overcome. [p. 25] Then, in order that they might undertake this trade, Spaniards would have to be encouraged by swollen profits and more than they might hope to obtain in the vast regions of America where they are permitted to trade. This interest would be contrary to that of the colonists, who must necessarily buy their goods at very moderate prices. Finally, our merchant marine is

todavía muy á los principios p^a contar con ella para empresas tan vastas y de tanta actividad.

Parece pues q^e lo único q^e puede convenir es el comercio libre con las Colonias Francesas, y con Francia en derecho. Esta proposición se presentará inadmisiblesi se considera el sistema de nuestro comercio en las Yndias, y la prohibición de q^e lo hagan los extranjeros; pero [pág. 26] á la verdad en nada debe la España medir aquella Colonia con los demás dominios que posee. Allí no hai q^e conservar minas ni algún otro de los preciosos frutos q^e formarían el poder de otras Naciones si cayesen en sus manos; por el contrario los q^e produce son inútiles p^a nosotros; y debemos desear se los lleven los q^e los necesiten, recompensando con sus efectos el trabajo de aquellos vasallos, cuyas riquezas lo serán siempre de su soberano.

Dos recelos q^e parecen inconvenientes podrán obgetarse p^a no asentir á la proposición: pero el uno verdaderamente no existe, y el otro tiene remedio. El 1^o es el contrabando q^e se creará podrá hacer la Colonia con la Nueva-España; para formar idea clara, y distinta de q^e es imposible, vease *la inmensa distancia*, [pág. 27] *los grandes desiertos, y los inminentes riesgos q^e ofrece el tránsito por entre naciones barbaras con quienes no tenemos amistad, dificultades todas invencibles, q^e vienen á poner un parapeto entre los confines de la Provincia y los de aquel Reyno*. La experiencia testifica esta verdad, pues siempre q^e alguna urgente necesidad del R^l servicio há exigido el paso, de algunas Ordenes por tierra desde Mexico á allí, ó por el contrario, há sido menester formar expedición de gente armada no menos arriesgada q^e costosa, principalmente desde q^e se quitó el Presidio de Texas q^e estaba inmediato á Natchitoches. Las dificultades de la comunicación de los mercaderes puede entretenerse y aun aumentarse solo con q^e el Virrey de Mexico, y el Gobernador de la Luisiana no permitan q^e las poblaciones se extiendan por [pág. 28] donde puedan acercarse. Tampoco hai q^e temer por la parte del Mar por q^e las naves q^e saliesen para Vera Cruz, Campeche, ú otro Puerto estarían sujetas á visita á la salida y á la entrada. Ninguna hasta ahora ha usado del permiso de ir á ellos y con razón, pues en ningún parage de America tendría salida el Añil, Peletería, y demás frutos de su cosecha. Así no habría inconveniente en prohibir este tráfico con tal q^e se dexase libre el de la Havana por si necesitase tablas, si fuera fundado el recelo del

still too undeveloped¹⁰ to be counted upon for such vast and energetic undertakings.

It appears then that the only suitable measure is free trade with the French colonies and with France itself. This proposition will be regarded as inadmissible if one considers our commercial system in the Indies and the exclusion of foreigners from participation in it; but, [p. 26] in truth, Spain ought not to judge this colony in any respect as it does its other dominions. This one has no mines to preserve nor any other precious fruits which would increase the power of other nations if it fell into their hands. On the contrary, its products are useless to us, and we ought to wish that those who need them might take them, so that they might repay with their goods the labor of those vassals, whose wealth will always be their sovereign's.

There are two dangers which may be urged as obstacles to agreeing with this proposition, but in reality one of these does not exist and there is a remedy for the other. The first is contraband trade, which it may be believed can be carried on by the colony with New Spain. In order to realize clearly and distinctly that this is impossible, only look at *the immense distance*, [p. 27] *the great deserts*, and *the imminent risks of travel through barbarous nations who are not friendly to us—all of these are insuperable difficulties, which raise a barrier between the confines of the province [i.e., Louisiana] and that kingdom [i.e., New Spain]*. Experience proves the truth of this, for whenever some urgent necessity of the royal service has required the passage of orders overland from Mexico thither, or vice versa, it has been necessary to organize an armed expedition which is no less unsafe than it is expensive, especially since the abandonment of the Presidio of Texas,¹¹ which was the next after Natchitoches. The traders' difficulties of communication can be maintained and even increased simply by the refusal of the viceroy of Mexico and the governor of Louisiana to permit the further extension of settlements in regions where [p. 28] they might approach each other. Nor is there any more reason for fearing contraband trade by sea, because the ships that sail for Vera Cruz, Campeche, or some other port would be subject to inspection both upon departure and arrival. No ship has hitherto availed itself of the permission to go to those ports, and with reason, for nowhere in America would there be found a market for the indigo, peltry, and other products [of Louisiana]. Consequently, there would be no objection to prohibiting this traffic (provided that with Havana

contrabando; pero en esta parte no se debe olvidar q^e si este fuese dable, no lo estorvaria la prohibicion interin q^e hubiera Ingleses en el Rio.

El segundo inconveniente sera q^e el comercio libre con Francia y sus Colonias [pág. 29] puede ser contrario al sistema politico y legislativo de España, y de pesimo exemplar para las Naciones de Europa: Pero sino se encuentra otro arbitrio de formarse en pocos años de aquella Provincia una barrera formidable, una poblacion numerosa, y una Colonia brillante, se puede mandar reservadam^{te} á su Governador q^e tenga un prudente disimulo, q^e en nada empeñe la accion, ni le comprometa obrando con tan refinada politica q^e por un lado prohiva, y amenaze para conservar las leyes en su fuerza, y por otro disimule constantemente.

Abrazado este arvitrio no se empeña España á favor de la Francia, ni contra las demas Naciones, se logran todos los fines deseados, y queda s^{pre} en libert^d de mudar de resoluⁿ Pero si como parece mui oportuno se llegan á superar las dificultades [pág. 30] y se declara el comercio libre conforme se há propuesto, podrá V. M. imponer d^{ños} de entrada sobre los efectos q^e se lleven, los q^e ayudaran á los gastos de la provincia y economizaran el situado que se la concede: y para animar á los Españoles al comercio q^e podran hacer desde Francia en derecho tanto á la ida como á la buelta se les podria conceder la mitad ó el todo de d^{ños}.

De esta suerte ganaran los Franceses á pesar de ir sobrecargados, se fomentaran los Nacionales, y quando de resultas de la concesion del comercio libre sea la Marina española la mas floreciente y respetable de Europa no podran aquellos sostener la concurrencia de los nuestros en la Colonia, y quedaran estos [pág. 31] dueños absolutos de su comercio.

Aranjuez 2 de Mayo de 1779.

[Pág. 32 *en blanco*.]

[*Acompaña un papelito que dice:*] Este Expediente deve llevarse á Junta con los S^{res} Floridablanca y Muzquiz.

should be left open in case it should need lumber), if the fear of contraband trade were justified; but at this point it should not be forgotten that if this were feasible, the prohibition would not stop it so long as the English were on the [Mississippi] River.

The second objection would be that free trade with France and its colonies [p. 29] might be contrary to Spanish policy and law, and a very bad example for the other nations of Europe. But if no other means is discovered whereby that province may be developed within a few years into a formidable barrier, a numerous population, and a brilliant colony, confidential orders can be sent to the governor directing him to exercise a prudent tolerance that would not bind or compromise his freedom of action in any way, following so refined a policy that on the one hand he might prohibit and threaten in order to keep the laws in force and on the other hand be ever tolerant.¹²

If this measure is adopted, Spain will not make any commitments in favor of France or against other nations, all the desired objects will be attained, and Spain will always be free to change its course. But if, as seems highly advisable, the obstacles should be overcome [p. 30] and free trade granted, as has been proposed, your Majesty can impose import duties on the articles that are brought over and these will aid in paying the expenses of the province and will reduce the subsidy¹³ which is granted it; and in order to encourage the Spaniards to engage in the commerce, which they can carry on directly with France both to and from [the colony], they might be exempted from the payment of one-half or the whole of the duties.

Thus the French will make a profit in spite of the higher duties, the Spaniards will be favored, and when by virtue of the concession of free trade the Spanish merchant marine is the most flourishing and respectable in Europe, the French will not be able to meet the competition of our people in the colony, and the latter will finally be [p. 31] the absolute masters of its commerce.

Aranjuez, May 2, 1779.¹⁴

[P. 32 blank]

[*Together with the above is a slip of paper, which says:*] This *expediente* should be taken to the meeting [of José de Gálvez?] with Señores Floridablanca and Muzquiz.

III. RESUMEN DE UNA REPRESENTACIÓN DE GILBERTO ANTONIO DE SAN MAXENT SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE LA FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL Y LA LUISIANA.

4 de Octubre de 1781

Expediente sobre Representación de Maxent. 4 de Octubre de 1781.

Señor

El Coronel Dⁿ Gilberto Antonio Maxent expone a V.E: Que las franquicias y privilegios concedidos en diversos tiempos, y ultimamente por el Reglamento del Comercio libre á Yndias de 12 de Octubre de 1778, para fomento de la Provincia de la Luisiana, no son por aora bastantes para que esta Colonia tenga desde luego, y produzca en lo sucesivo al Estado las grandes ventajas que deven esperarse de la estension y fertilidad de su terreno, de sus industriosos Havitantes, y de la proporcion de aumentar considerablemente el Comercio de las Peleterias con las Naciones de Yndios Salvages, sobre todo desde que con las gloriosas conquistas que han hecho las Armas del Rey sobre los Yngleses, ha quedado sujeta a la dominacion de S.M. la Florida Occidental.

Aunque desde el año de 68. se concedio a la referida Provincia el Comercio con entera libertad de derechos sobre los efectos y generos Españoles y extrangeros asi en su extraccion por los Puertos habilitados de España, como en la entrada á dicha Colonia, y salida de los caudales y frutos de ella fixando la contribucion de estos a su desembarco en la Peninsula, 4 por ciento que despues se rebajo á 2.; y que ultimamente se franqueó de todo derecho la peleteria por el articulo 50 del Reglamento, con todo no ha podido lograr esta Colonia el fomento que deseaba el Gobierno, como la experiencia lo ha manifestado.

Las causas que lo han impedido son las siguientes.

1^a Como en España no se fabrican muchos de los generos que se necesitan indispensablemente para el Comercio de las Peleterias, es preciso introducirlos de fuera pagando un almojarifazgo de 15 por ciento, contribuciones municipales, fletes comisiones de recepcion y expedición, y almacenage. Estos derechos y costos hacen super crecer el valor de los efectos de modo que las pieles que en cambio de ellos dan los Yndios salen tan caras, que no pueden soportar en los

III. SUMMARY OF A REPRESENTATION BY GILBERT AN-TOINE DE ST. MAXENT RELATIVE TO THE COMMERCE OF WEST FLORIDA AND LOUISIANA.¹⁵

October 4, 1781

Expediente relative to a representation by Maxent. October 4, 1781.

Sir

Colonel Don Gilberto Antonio Maxent¹⁶ explains to your Excellency: That the exemptions and privileges granted at various times, and most recently by the Ordinance of Free Commerce to the Indies of October 12, 1778,¹⁷ for the development of the province of Louisiana, are not at present sufficient to enable this colony to enjoy at once and to share subsequently with the state the great benefits that one is entitled to expect from the extent and fertility of the country, from its industrious inhabitants, and from the opportunity of increasing considerably the fur trade with the nations of savage Indians, especially since, by the glorious conquests that the forces of the king have made from the English, West Florida is now under the domination of his Majesty.¹⁸

Although concession of trade was granted to the above-mentioned province, beginning in the year 1768, with full exemption of duties on Spanish and foreign goods and effects, both upon their exportation from the habilitated ports of Spain and upon their importation into said colony, as well as upon the exportation of funds and products from the colony (fixing, [however], a tax on these of four per cent—later reduced to two per cent—upon their arrival in the Peninsula) ; and, although furs were recently exempted from the payment of all duties by article 50 of the ordinance;¹⁹ yet, this colony, as experience has demonstrated, has been unable to attain the development desired by the government.

The causes which have prevented it are the following:

1. Since not many of the goods which are absolutely necessary for the fur trade are made in Spain, it is necessary to import them from abroad, paying an import duty of fifteen per cent, municipal taxes, freight, commissions for receiving and forwarding the goods, and storage. These duties and expenses inflate the cost of the goods so that the skins which the Indians give in exchange for them are so dear that in the places where they are marketed they cannot

parages de su consumo la concurrencia de las que los Yngleses extraian de los mismos Lugares, y del Canadá.

2ª La segunda causa es La precision establecida de retornar los Navios empleados en este Comercio á los Puertos de España: porque como algunas de las pieles solo se consumen en el Norte de Europa, y nosotros no tenemos todavia suficientes fabricas para beneficiar las demás, es indispensable extraer la mayor parte a los Mercados Extranjeros. Y siendo este vn genero tan expuesto á deteriorarse quando es larga la navegacion y se retarda su venta, y tambien recaen sobre el mayores costos, se evidencia la imposibilidad de fomentar su comercio, si desde la Luisiana no se lleva directamente a los Payses extranjeros.

Esta razon es tan fuerte, que no dexa duda en que la Colonia se hallaria al presente en el estado mas miserable sin la tolerancia que han tenido sus Havitantes de exportar al Guarico ó Cabo Frances sus frutos y peleterias; pero de esta tolerancia, que equivale al permiso que se solicita en este escrito, ha perdido la España el importante objeto de extender su navegacion, y de sacar vn subsidio con que resarcir parte del Situado asignado de Caxas Reales, mientras que la Francia por aquella tolerancia ha tenido el beneficio de la Colonia sin soportar los costos de su manutencion.

Ademas: Aunque ciertos frutos y efectos, cuyo comercio tiene alguna estension á pesar de las restrinciones, esto solo se verifica quando su posesion es exclusiva, y son generalmente apetecidos; pero las Peleterias es fruto de muchos Payses, no tienen en todas partes consumo, y de consiguiente si los Comerciantes Españoles logran menos ventajas que los Yngleses y Anglo-Americanos, caira sin duda en manos de estos casi todo el comercio, pues sin embargo de la conquista de la Florida Occidental, aun tienen proporcion de atraerlo á si por la Georgia y Carolina del Sur.

Supuesto pues que la Provincia de la Luisiana solo puede tener fomento por la estension del comercio de las peleterias, y que para esto es preciso permitir por vn cierto tiempo que nuestros Navios vayan en derechura de los Puertos Extranjeros á aquella Colonia, y retornen tambien en derechura á los parages de Europa donde encuentren mas pronta y ventajosa salida a las Peleterias y frutos, propone á V.E. D^ñ Gilberto Antonio Maxent los medios, y formalidades que pudieran adoptarse para fomentar este Comercio, sacar de él alguna contribucion para ayuda a sostener los costos de la

compete with those which the English get from the same regions and from Canada.

2. The second cause is the established requirement that the ships employed in this trade shall return to the ports of Spain; for, since some of the skins are used only in northern Europe and since we do not yet have enough factories to use the rest advantageously, it is absolutely necessary to export most of the skins to foreign markets. And inasmuch as this is a commodity which is so likely to deteriorate when the voyage is long and the sales slow, and as it is burdened with very heavy expenses, it is clearly impossible to promote this commerce unless it is carried on directly between Louisiana and foreign countries.

This consideration is so weighty that it leaves no doubt that the colony would today be in a most miserable condition were it not for the privilege that its inhabitants have enjoyed of exporting their products and peltry to Guarico²⁰ and Cap François;²¹ but this privilege, which is equivalent to the permission requested in this paper, has cost Spain the important object of extending its carrying trade and of obtaining some pecuniary compensation to offset in part the *situado* granted [Louisiana] from the royal treasury. At the same time, this privilege enables France to reap the benefits of the colony without bearing the expense of maintaining it.

Furthermore, although [there are] certain products and commodities in which there exists a considerable commerce in spite of restrictions, such cases occur only when their possession is exclusive and when they are in general demand. Furs, however, are found in many countries and are not consumed everywhere. Consequently, if Spanish merchants obtain fewer advantages than the English and Anglo-Americans, almost the whole of the fur trade will undoubtedly fall into the hands of the latter, since, notwithstanding the conquest of West Florida, they are still in a position to draw this trade to them by way of Georgia and South Carolina.

Supposing, then, that the province of Louisiana can be developed only through the extension of the fur trade,²² and that for that purpose it is necessary to permit our ships to go for a certain period direct from foreign ports to that colony and also to return direct to those parts of Europe where they find the quickest and best market for its peltry and products, Don Gilberto Antonio Maxent proposes to your Excellency those means and formalities that might be adopted in order to develop that commerce, derive some revenue from it to aid in paying the expenses of the colony,

Colonia, é impedir que este trafico con Dominios Extranjeros perjudique al directo que hace la España con las demas Posesiones de America. Todo se comprende bajo los puntos siguientes.

Concedido entendiéndose q^o la salida de los Registros que no sean despachados de los Puertos habilitados de España han de salir de los de Francia donde haya Consules ó Vice-Consules nños.

Concedida solo para las Francesas.

Concedido.

Concedida, y que las tarifas se arreglen p^o el Yntend^{to} de la Provincia, y que pasadas al Gen^l actual de ella venga con informe a la R^l aprobacion.

Concedida.

1^o Que dexando en su fuerza y vigor el privilegio del franco comercio concedido por el Reglamento de 12 de Octubre de 1778 entre los Puertos habilitados de España, y la Colonia se digne S.M. declarar, que por espacio de 10. años que empiecen á contarse desde la epoca de la paz, puedan hacerse en Navios Españoles las expediciones de Comercio para la Luisiana y Panzacola desde los Puertos de Francia, ó de otras Potencias amigas, y regresar tambien á Puertos Extranjeros con las Peleterias y frutos de la Colonia, pero prohibida siempre la extraccion de dinero por esta via.

2^o Que se permita la misma comunicacion con las Islas Antillas pertenecientes á Potencias Amigas.

3^o Que para ayuda á los costos de la manutencion de la Colonia se exija á este Comercio directo con Extranjeros la contribucion que razonablemente pueda soportar la qual cree Maxent puede fixarse á seis por ciento con vn avaluo moderado sobre todos los efectos de importacion y exportacion ya sea en Navios pertenecientes á Españoles Europeos, ó á los Havitantes de la misma Colonia.

4^o Que para la exaccion de esta contribucion, y la de dos por ciento á que han estado y quedarán sugetos los frutos que se extraen para la Havana y demas posesiones Españolas, se establezca vna Aduana en la Nueva Orleans y otra en Panzacola con las correspondientes tarifas fixas, y permanentes para impedir la arbitrariedad de los Administradores tan perjudicial al Rey y á los Particulares.

5^o Que para animar a nuestros Comerciantes á que vayan haciendo algunas expediciones desde España les sea permitido sacar de la Nueva Orleans y Panzacola para otros Puertos havilitados de America los frutos y efectos propios de nuestro Suelo que alli hayan introducido y no tengan consumo en la Luisiana y Florida Occidental pagando á su introducion en ellos los derechos que deverian haver satisfecho en España á su salida así como está permitido á los Registros del Comercio libre quando no tienen consumo sus efectos en el Puerto de su destino. Pero no deverán llevarse de ningun modo los generos extranjeros, cuyo consumo se ha de verificar precisamente en la Colonia para no dar margen al contra-

and prevent that traffic with foreign countries from injuring the commerce that Spain carries on direct with its other possessions in America. All this is included in the following points.

1. That leaving in full force and effect the privilege of free trade granted by the Ordinance of October 12, 1778, between the habilitated ports of Spain and the colony, his Majesty shall deign to declare that for the period of ten years, beginning with the conclusion of peace, commercial expeditions to Louisiana and Pensacola may be made in Spanish ships from the ports of France and other friendly powers, and that they may also return to foreign ports with the peltry and products of the colony, but that the exportation of specie by that route shall always be prohibited.

2. That the same communication be permitted with islands in the Antilles belonging to friendly powers.

3. That in order to pay a part of the cost of maintaining the colony, this direct commerce with foreigners shall be subjected to an impost that it can reasonably support. This Maxent believes can be fixed at six per cent, to be based on a moderate valuation, on all goods imported and exported, whether in ships belonging to European Spaniards or to inhabitants of the colony itself.

4. That for the collection of this impost and of the two per cent duty to which the products exported to Havana and the other Spanish possessions have been and will continue to be subject, one custom-house be established in New Orleans and another in Pensacola with suitable fixed and permanent tariffs in order to prevent that arbitrary conduct on the part of collectors which is so injurious to the king and to private persons.

5. That in order to encourage our merchants to undertake several expeditions from Spain, they shall be permitted to export from New Orleans and Pensacola to other habilitated ports of America the products and goods of Spanish origin which they may have taken thither and which find no market in Louisiana and West Florida. In this case they shall pay upon importation into those ports the duties that they would have had to pay in Spain upon departure in accordance with the permission granted to ships engaged in free commerce²⁴ when there is no market for their goods in the port of destination. But in no case shall this privilege be extended to foreign goods, the sale of which must take place without fail in the colony, in order not to afford any opportunity for

Granted with the understanding that the sailing of registered vessels that are not cleared in the habilitated ports of Spain be confined to French ports in which there are Spanish consuls or vice-consuls.²³

Granted for the French [islands] alone.

Granted.

Granted, and let the tariffs be drawn up by the intendant of the province, and after transmission to the present [governor] general thereof, let them be submitted with a report for the royal approval.

Granted.

bando, ni perjudicar al Comercio de España con las otras Posesiones de America.

6º Que los Negros se introduzcan sin pagar derecho alguno atendiendo á que aumentan la Poblacion, y de su trabajo han de tener principio las producciones de la tierra.

Para demostrar las utilidades que desde luego logra el Real Erario de este Comercio, y dar al mismo tiempo vna idea de las que pueden sacarse de él en lo sucesivo se acompaña vn Estado de las producciones que annualmente suelen extraerse de la Provincia de la Luisiana, su valor corriente, y los derechos que ellas y los generos extrangeros deverán adeudar. Pero como por medio de la libertad que se pretende, cree Maxent que este Comercio se triplicará ó quatriplicará en pocos años despues de la paz, entonces será de mucho ingreso el beneficio que resultará á la Real Hacienda.

Tambien se persuade Maxent que obtenida y publicada esta concesion pasarán muchos Colonos Franceses de S^{to} Domingo á establecerse en la Florida; y que al fin de los diez años será esta vna colonia utilisima para la Metropoli tanto por el aumento de sus frutos como por él del Comercio de las Peleterias. La España empleará muchos Navios, y si en este intervalo con el establecimiento de los Consulados y los progresos del Comercio libre con las demas Posesiones de America fomenta las fabricas de fusiles y demas efectos necesarios para el trato con los Salvages serán immensas las utilidades que saque.

Para que esta concesion tenga todos los favorables efectos que deve producir y espera el Rey, se ha servido ampliarla en beneficio de los Habitantes de la Luisiana y Panzacola á que durante dos a^s contados desde que se publique en ellas la paz tengan facultad de adquirir Embarcaciones extrangeras libres del dño de extrangeria, media anata, y demas de qualquiera clase que sean, porque se regularán en todo como si fuesen de construccion española. Y tambien concede S.M. entera libertad de drôs á las Duelas para barriles y pipas que se trageren á España en Buques de Vasallos suyos de aquellas Colonias, ô de estos Reynos para surtim^{to} de ellos, de modo que nada pagarán allá ni aqui por extraccion ni introduccion. 4 de 8^{bre} de 81.

Concedida, y que los Colonos puedan irlos a vuscar á las Colonias Amigas ô neutrales en cambio de sus producciones, ô con dinero pagando p^r aquellas los drôs establecidos de extraccion, y por este lo mismo.

[Las notas marginales y este párrafo final, están escritos por José de Gálvez.]

contraband trade and not to injure the commerce of Spain with its other possessions in America.

6. That Negroes may be imported without the payment of any duty, in view of the fact that they increase the population and that their labor is a prerequisite to the cultivation of the soil.

In order to demonstrate the benefits which the royal treasury will at once derive from this commerce, and at the same time to give an idea of those which may be obtained from it in the future, a table is appended showing the products which are ordinarily exported from the province of Louisiana every year, the value in each case, and the duties which they and the foreign goods will have to pay. But since by means of the freedom which is requested, Maxent believes that the volume of this commerce will be tripled or quadrupled within a few years after the conclusion of peace, the benefit then accruing to the royal treasury will be an important item.

Maxent is also persuaded that if this concession be obtained and published, many French colonists from Santo Domingo will go over to settle in Florida, and that at the end of ten years this will be a most useful colony to the mother country, by reason of the increase of its products as well as by that of the fur trade. Spain will employ many ships; and if in this period it develops (by the establishment of *consulados*²⁵ and by the progress of free trade with the other possessions of America) the manufacture of guns and other articles necessary for trade with the savages, the benefits it derives will be immense.

In order that this concession may have all the favorable results that it should produce and that the king expects, he is graciously pleased to amplify it in favor of the inhabitants of Louisiana and Pensacola so that for two years, counting from the date of publication of peace in those places, they may have permission to acquire foreign vessels without paying the duty of *extranjería*,²⁶ the *media anata*,²⁷ or any other duty whatever, inasmuch as such vessels will be treated in every respect as if they were of Spanish construction. And likewise, his Majesty grants complete exemption from duties on staves for barrels and casks which may be brought to Spain in ships belonging to his vassals in those colonies or in these kingdoms for use in the latter. Consequently, they will pay nothing either there or here upon exportation or importation. October 4, 1781.²⁸

Granted, and let the colonists be permitted to go in search of them to the colonies of friendly or neutral powers in exchange for their products or money, paying the established export duties for the former and the same for the latter.

[The marginal notes and this final paragraph were written by José de Gálvez.]

IV. REAL CÉDULA CONCEDIENDO NUEVAS GRACIAS PARA FOMENTO DEL COMERCIO DE LA LUISIANA.

El Pardo, 22 de Enero de 1782

[*Portada*, pág. 1]

[Pág. 2 *en blanco*]

[Pág. 3]

†

EL REY.

Como siempre han sido mis constantes desvelos y deseos proporcionar á mis amados Vasallos la mayor felicidad, y hacerles disfrutar los buenos efectos que produce la libertad del Comercio, no he podido perder nunca de vista tan importante objeto en todas las providencias que he tenido á bien expedir para mis dilatados dominios de Indias ; porque estoy firmemente persuadido, que la proteccion del Comercio y de la Industria es la causa que mas influye en el poder, riqueza y prosperidad de un Estado. La Provincia de la Luisiana ha merecido particularmente mis Reales atenciones desde que se agregó á mi Corona, y mi paternal amor ácia los habitantes de aquella Colonia se ha interesado desde entonces en darles repetidas pruebas de que no ha padecido alteracion alguna su felicidad con la mudanza de dominacion, y que les miro como una porcion distinguida de mis dominios. Pero á pesar de estos deseos, y de las gracias y franquicias que me serví dispensarles en diversos tiempos, y especialmente por los Artículos 48, 49 y 50 del Reglamento del Comercio libre á Indias de doce de Octubre de mil setecientos setenta y ocho en que están recopiladas, la experiencia ha dado á conocer que no han producido completamente todas las ventajas que me habia prometido en beneficio de dicha Provincia, y que la industria de sus moradores, la situacion geográfica en que se hallan, el Comercio de las Peleterías con las numerosas Naciones de Indios Gentiles que les circundan, y los frutos de exportacion que produce su terreno para el trato con la Europa, exigen una ordenanza acomodada á sus particulares [pág. 4] circunstancias. Este conocimiento movió mi Real ánimo á pedir al Gobernador y Capitan General de dicha Provincia Don Bernardo de Galvez los informes y noticias correspondientes sobre este punto, mandandole al mismo tiempo propusiese los medios y reglas seguras que pueden estable-

✱
REAL CEDULA,
CÓNCEDIENDO
NUEVAS GRACIAS
PARA FOMENTO
DEL COMERCIO
DE LA LUISIANA.

AÑO



1782.

DE ORDEN DE S. M.

EN LA IMPRENTA DE PEDRO MARIN.

Title page of Cédula of 1782

IV. ROYAL CÉDULA GRANTING NEW PRIVILEGES FOR
THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE COMMERCE OF
LOUISIANA.²⁹

El Pardo, January 22, 1782

[*Title*, p. 1]

[P. 2 *blank*]

[P. 3]

†

THE KING.

Inasmuch as it has always been my constant care and desire to provide for the greatest happiness of my beloved subjects and to cause them to reap the benefit of the good results produced by the freedom of commerce, I have never been able to lose sight of so important an object in all the measures which I have been pleased to adopt for my extensive dominions in the Indies; for I am firmly persuaded that the protection of commerce and industry is the most potent factor in the power, wealth, and prosperity of a state. The province of Louisiana has been especially deserving of my royal attention from the time it was added to my crown, and my paternal love toward the inhabitants of that colony has interested itself since then in giving them repeated proofs that their happiness has not suffered any alteration with the change of authority and that I regard them as a distinguished portion of my dominions. But in spite of these desires and of the privileges and exemptions which I have been pleased to grant them at divers times, and especially by articles 48, 49, and 50 of the Ordinance of Free Commerce to the Indies of October 12, 1778,³⁰ in which they are compiled, experience has shown that they have not produced completely all of the benefits which I had promised myself in favor of the said province, and that the industry of its inhabitants, the geographical situation in which they are placed, the fur trade with the numerous nations of heathen Indians surrounding them, and the export products which their soil yields for trade with Europe, demand an ordinance adjusted to their peculiar [p. 4] circumstances. This knowledge led my royal will to ask of the governor and captain general of the said province, Don Bernardo de Gálvez,³¹ the appropriate reports and information on this point, and I directed him at the same time to propose the sure means and regulations that might be adopted

cerse para fomentar el Comercio de aquella Colonia, y hacerla florecer á medida de sus grandes proporciones. Y habiendo informado dicho General circunstanciadamente sobre las ventajas naturales que logra aquel País, y propuesto oportunamente varios medios para hacerlas valer, con muy fundadas reflexiones que acreditan la necesidad que tiene la Colonia de que se la facilite salida á sus frutos en cambio de los efectos que la hacen falta para su consumo, y proveer el trato con los Indios: Teniendolo yo en consideracion, como tambien lo que ahora me ha representado el Coronel Don Gilberto Antonio de Maxent, Comandante de las Milicias de Nueva-Orleans, proponiendo varias reglas deducidas de lo que le han dictado su zelo, experiencia y conocimiento exacto de las relaciones que puede tener aquel País con esta Metrópoli y las Naciones confinantes, sobre todo desde que mis Reales Armas han recuperado los grandes territorios que ocupaban los Ingleses en la Florida Occidental: y deseando igualmente remunerar los señalados servicios y lealtad con que se han portado los habitantes de la Luisiana en las campañas hechas para reintegrar á mi Corona aquellas posesiones: he venido en resolver y ordenar, que en lo sucesivo se observen las gracias y franquicias concedidas en los referidos artículos 48, 49 y 50 del citado Reglamento del Comercio libre á Indias, con las ampliaciones y declaraciones siguientes:

I.

Permito por tiempo de diez años, contados desde que se publique la paz, que las naves pertenecientes á Vasallos mios de estos Reynos, ó de aque-[pág. 5]lla Colonia, en las cuales se hagan expediciones mercantiles para la Nueva-Orleans y Panzacóla, puedan salir directamente con sus cargamentos desde los Puertos de Francia, donde residan mis Cónsules, y regresar tambien en derechura á ellos con los frutos y Peleterías de la Luisiana y Florida Occidental, excepto dinero, cuya extraccion se prohíbe absolutamente por aquella via; pero con la precisa é indispensable obligacion de que se forme por los dichos mis Cónsules una factura individual de quantos efectos se embarquen, que entregarán firmada y sellada al Capitan ó Maestre del Baxél, á fin que la presente en la Administracion Real del Puerto de su destino, sacando antes los Cónsules una copia que dirigirán al Ministro del Despacho Universal de Indias para su debida noticia, y providencias que convenga expedir á efecto de averiguar el legitimo paradero y consumo de los efectos.

in order to develop the commerce of that colony and cause it to flourish according to its great possibilities. And since the said general has submitted detailed information in regard to the natural advantages which that country enjoys and has opportunely proposed various means by which they may be utilized, together with very just considerations which prove the necessity of affording that colony an outlet for its products in exchange for the goods that are required for its use and for trade with the Indians; keeping this in mind, as likewise the statement that has just been made to me by Colonel Don Gilberto Antonio de Maxent,³² commandant of the militia of New Orleans, who has proposed various regulations in accordance with the dictates of his zeal, experience, and exact knowledge of the relations which that country can have with this mother country [Spain] and with the neighboring nations, especially now that my royal arms have recovered the great region which the English occupied in West Florida; and desiring likewise to reward the distinguished services and loyalty with which the inhabitants of Louisiana have conducted themselves in the campaigns waged to restore those possessions to my crown: I have determined to resolve and ordain that henceforth the privileges and exemptions granted in the said articles 48, 49, and 50 of the above-mentioned Ordinance of Free Commerce to the Indies, shall be observed with the following amplifications and interpretations:

I.

For a period of ten years, counting from the date of publication of peace,³³ I permit ships belonging to my subjects of these kingdoms [Spain] or of that [p. 5] colony, in which commercial expeditions may be made to New Orleans and Pensacola, to sail direct with their cargoes from the ports of France in which my consuls reside,³⁴ and likewise to return direct to them with the products and peltry of Louisiana and West Florida, except money, the exportation of which by that way is absolutely prohibited; but with the distinct and necessary requirement that my said consuls shall draw up an itemized bill of lading of all articles taken on board, which they shall give, signed and sealed, to the captain or master of the vessel, in order that he may present it at the royal custom-house of the port of destination, the consuls first making a copy which they shall send to the minister of the colonies for his due notice and for such measures as it may be expedient to take in order to ascertain the proper delivery and consumption of the goods.

II.

En el caso de urgente necesidad de la Colonia (que deberán regular de acuerdo el Gobernador é Intendente de ella) concedo á sus habitantes el mismo permiso contenido en el artículo antecedente para que puedan recurrir á las Islas Francesas de la América, con la obligacion indispensable de que los Capitanes ó Maestres de las embarcaciones formen las exactas facturas de sus cargazones, y las entreguen á los Ministros Reales para su individual cotejo con los efectos que conduzcan.

III.

Para animar á mis Vasallos á que hagan este Comercio desde los Puertos habilitados de la Península, permito que puedan sacar y extraer libremente de la Nueva-Orleans y Panzacóla los frutos y generos propios de España que alli hubiesen introducido, y no puedan consumirse en la Luisiana y Flo-[pág. 6]rida Occidental para otros Puertos habilitados de Indias, pagando en ellos los derechos que debieran haber satisfecho en España á su salida, segun lo prefinido en el citado Reglamento de doce de Octubre de mil setecientos setenta y ocho. Pero con el justo fin de evitar los fraudes y no perjudicar al Comercio de estos Reynos con los de otros Dominios míos, prohibo que puedan extraerse generos Extrangeros, porque su consumo y despacho, segun el espiritu de esta Ordenanza, deberá verificarse precisamente en la Luisiana y Florida.

IV.

Concedo por el mismo tiempo de diez años absoluta libertad de derechos á los Negros que se introduzcan en aquellas Provincias, y permito á los habitantes de ellas que puedan irlos á buscar á las Colonias amigas ó neutrales en cambio de sus producciones ó con dinero efectivo, pagando por aquellas y éste los cortos derechos establecidos en el artículo VII. de esta Cédula.

V.

Con la mira de que estas libertades y concesiones tengan todos los favorables efectos que deben producir, he resuelto igualmente dispensar á los habitantes de la Luisiana y Panzacóla la gracia y beneficio de que durante dos años, que empezarán á correr desde que se publique alli la paz, tengan facultad de adquirir embarcaciones extrangeras libres de derechos de extrangería, media-annata,

II.

In case of urgent necessity in the colony (which shall be determined jointly by the governor and intendant thereof) I grant to its inhabitants the same permission contained in the preceding article in order that they may go to the French Islands in America,⁸⁵ with the necessary requirement that the captains or masters of the ships shall draw up exact bills of lading of their cargoes and shall deliver them to the royal officials for detailed comparison with the articles carried by them.

III.

In order to encourage my subjects to engage in this commerce from the habilitated ports of the Peninsula, I permit them to take and export freely from New Orleans and Pensacola the products and commodities of Spanish origin which may have been imported there and for which there is no market in Louisiana and West Flor-[p. 6]ida, to other habilitated ports of the Indies, paying in those ports the duties that they would have had to pay in Spain upon exportation, according to the requirements of the said Ordinance of October 12, 1778. But with the just purpose of preventing frauds and of not injuring the commerce of these kingdoms [Spain] with my other dominions, I prohibit the re-exportation of foreign commodities, because their consumption and sale, according to the spirit of this ordinance, must take place only in Louisiana and Florida.

IV.

For the same period of ten years I grant absolute exemption from duties on the Negroes who may be imported into those provinces, and I permit the inhabitants thereof to go in search of them to friendly or neutral colonies in exchange for their products or with specie, paying upon the former and the latter the small duties prescribed in Article VII. of this cédula.

V.

In order that these liberties and concessions may have all the favorable effects that they should produce, I have likewise resolved to grant to the inhabitants of Louisiana and Pensacola the privilege and favor that for a period of two years, beginning with the date of publication of peace there, they shall be free to acquire foreign vessels without paying the duties of *extranjería*, *media-*

y demás de qualquiera clase que sean, por ser mi Real voluntad que se regulen en todo como si fuesen de construccion y fabrica Española.

VI.

Tambien concedo entera libertad de derechos á las duelas para barriles y pipas que se trageren de [pág. 7] aquellas Provincias á estos Reynos, de modo que nada han de pagar por su extraccion de ellas ni introduccion en España.

VII.

Siendo justo que este Comercio directo con Extrangeros concurra á la manutencion de la Colonia, y alivio de los considerables gastos que ocasiona, mando que de todos los frutos y efectos de importacion y exportacion que se hiciere, ya sea en naves pertenecientes á Españoles Européos, ó á los habitantes de la misma Colonia, se exija un seis por ciento de su valor sacado por un avalúo moderado.

VIII.

Para la recaudacion del derecho impuesto en el artículo anterior, y el de dos por ciento que solo deberán pagar como hasta aqui los frutos que se embarquen para la Habana y demás posesiones de mis dominios de Indias, he resuelto establecer dos Administraciones, una en la Nueva-Orleans, y otra en Panzacóla. Y para el arreglo de ellas, y cortar la arbitrariedad que tanto perjudica al Comercio, mando al Intendente de la Luisiana que á imitacion de los Aranceles contenidos en el Reglamento del Comercio libre, forme inmediatamente las Tarifas correspondientes que fixen el valor y contribucion de cada uno de los efectos de introduccion y extraccion: Y hechas, las pase al General Don Bernardo de Galvez, para que con su correccion é informe las envíe á mi Real aprobacion.

Y para que tengan el debido cumplimiento las gracias especificadas en los anteriores ocho artículos que amplían las ya concedidas en los citados 48, 49 y 50 del Reglamento de doce de Octubre de mil setecientos setenta y ocho. Mando á mis Consejos, Chancillerías, Audiencias, Virreyes, Presidentes, Capitanes y Comandantes Generales, Gobernadores, Intendentes, Alcaldes Mayores y

anata,³⁶ or any other duty whatever, since it is my royal will that they shall be treated in every respect as if they were of Spanish construction and make.

VI.

I likewise grant absolute exemption from duties upon staves for barrels and casks which may be brought from [p. 7] those provinces to these kingdoms, so that they shall have nothing to pay either upon their exportation thence or upon their importation into Spain.

VII.

Since it is just that this direct commerce with foreigners should contribute to the support of the colony and to the reduction of the considerable expenses that it will occasion, I order that a six per cent *ad valorem* duty, computed upon a moderate valuation, shall be exacted upon all products and articles that may be imported or exported, whether in ships belonging to European Spaniards or to inhabitants of the colony itself.

VIII.

For the collection of the duty imposed in the preceding article and of the two per cent duty which, as hitherto, shall be paid only upon those products which are exported to Havana and other possessions of my dominions in the Indies, I have resolved to establish two offices, one in New Orleans and the other in Pensacola. And for their governance and in order to prevent the arbitrariness which is so injurious to commerce, I direct the intendant of Louisiana, in imitation of the tariffs contained in the Ordinance of Free Commerce, to draw up immediately the proper tariffs,³⁷ fixing therein the value and the amount of the duty in the case of every article of importation and exportation; and this done, he shall transmit the tariffs to General Don Bernardo de Gálvez in order that, with his corrections and advice, he may forward them for my royal approval.

And in order that the privileges specified in the preceding eight articles, which amplify those already granted in Articles 48, 49, and 50 of the Ordinance of October 12, 1778, may be duly enforced, I direct my councils, chancelleries, audiencias, viceroys, presidents, captains and commandants general, governors, intendants, al-

Ordinarios, [pág. 8] Oficiales Reales, Administradores de mis Aduanas, Consulados de Comercio, y á mis Cónsules en los Puertos de Francia, que guarden, cumplan y executen, hagan guardar, cumplir y executar quanto en esta Real Cédula se contiene. Dada en el Pardo á veinte y dos de Enero de mil setecientos ochenta y dos. = YO EL REY. = Josef de Galvez.

Es copia del original.

Galvez.

[Pág. 9 y 10 en blanco]

V. BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ A JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ SOBRE EL TRATO CON LOS INDIOS DE LAS FLORIDAS.

Madrid, 20 de Diciembre de 1783

Eñmo S^{or}

Mui S^{or} mio. Hecho cargo de los Papeles, que V. E. se ha servido dirixirme relatibos à la propocision, que hacen algunos Yngleses de continuar el Comercio en las dos Floridas por su quenta, y vajo nuestra proteccion, con las reflexiones, que para ello les sirven de fundamento hallo: Que aunque son conformes a la verdad, à lo que subcede, y à lo que pudiera acahecer, no ès su propuesta admisible, porque traheria maiores, y mas graves incombenientes. No tiene duda q^e los Yngleses por el medio q^e proponen mantendrian los Yndios en paz, y conserbarian su amistad, pero seria para si, y jamas para nosotros, de cuio mal debemos precabernos. Es cierto igualm^{te} que los Yndios prefieren las Mercancias Ynglesas a todas otras, pero tambien lo ès que se conforman con las francesas, que fueron las primeras à que estubieron aconstumbradas las Naciones del Canadà, y la Luisiana cuio Comercio tiene S. M. permitido à sus Vasallos habitantes en la misma Provincia hacer con la Francia en derechura para que se proporcionen las mismas mercancias, y ventajas. El Comercio interior del trato, y contrato con los Yndios se hace igualm^{te} y debe hacerse siempre por mano de los Españoles, a fin de que sean estos los que ganen, y conserben la amistad de los Naturales, cosa no tan imposible, como la crehen los Yngleses,

caldes mayores and alcaldes in ordinary, [p. 8] royal officials, customs officials, commercial *consulados*, and my consuls in the ports of France to observe, obey, and execute, and to cause to be observed, obeyed, and executed everything that is contained in this royal cédula. Given at El Pardo, January 22, 1782. = I THE KING. = José de Gálvez.

This is a copy of the original.

Gálvez.

[Pp. 9 and 10 blank]

V. BERNARDO DE GÁLVEZ TO JOSÉ DE GÁLVEZ RELATIVE TO THE INDIAN TRADE OF THE FLORIDAS.³⁸

Madrid, December 20, 1783

Most Excellent Sir

Dear Sir:

Having considered the papers which your Excellency was pleased to send me in regard to the proposal made by certain Englishmen³⁹ to continue to trade in the two Floridas on their own account and under our protection, together with the reflections which serve them as a basis for the proposal, I observe: That, although they give a true account of what is happening and of what may befall, their proposal is inadmissible, because it would cause greater and more serious difficulties.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that the English, by the means which they propose, would keep the Indians at peace and would preserve their friendship; but it would be for their own benefit and not for ours, an evil against which we must be on our guard. It is true likewise that the Indians prefer English goods to all others, but it is also true that they are content with French goods, which were the first to which the nations of Canada and Louisiana were accustomed. His Majesty has permitted his subjects inhabiting the province of Louisiana to carry on their trade direct with France in order that they may obtain the same goods and advantages. The internal commerce of the trade and agreement with the Indians is also carried on and should always be carried on through the agency of Spaniards, in order that they may be the ones to gain and preserve the friendship of the natives—a thing that is not so impossible as the English believe, in view of the fact

supuesto que aun en tiempo de la guerra, y quando ellos tenian mas empeño en conserbarse el afecto De las Naciones Yndias, le ganamos nosotros con menos arbitrios, cuiam amistad subsiste todavia, y regular permanezca mas arraigada en lo venidero, sino se dan expresamente por nña parte motivos para lo contrario.

En quanto â las noticias del gran numero de Emigrantes q^e huyendo de las Colonias procuran establecerse al Norte de la Luisiana, ò refuxiarse en la Provincia misma ès punto demasiado delicado para que ninguno que conozca los Americanos y las circunstancias de aquellos Países se atreba a pronosticar quales habian de ser las consecuencias. El modo tal vez de que estas no sean malas, seria (a mi entender) admitir desde luego a quantos se presenten; pues llegando subcesivam^{te} y en corto numero, parece mas facil obligarles, è hirlos aconstumbrando a nña religión, gobierno, y costumbres, porque de querer cerrarles la entrada alli (q^e fuera imposible aun quando se desease) resultaria que aumentandose, y tomando considerable cuerpo sus establecim^{tos} crecerian hasta que hallandose superiores a los nuestros, rompiesen el Dique que aora quisiera oponerles, y como vn Torrente inundarian la Prov^a haciendose Dueños de ella.

Por lo mismo tengo yâ dadas ordenes competentes para que las citadas familias se coloquen conforme vaian llegando en distancia proporcionada de vnas â otras, con prohibicion de que tengan armas, y se empleen en la Caza (segun los mas apetecen) reduciendoseles â la sola classe de Labradores.

Estas sobre el devido cuidadoso manejo, q^e siempre toca observar â aquel Gov^{no} son las vnicas precauciones q^e concibo haia que tomar en el dia para evitar toda futura resulta, Y lo que puedo exponer a V. E. en el asumpto.

Dios g^e a V. E. m^s años. Madrid 20 de Diziembre de 1783.

[*Dirección:*] Ex^{mo} S^{or} Dⁿ Josef de Galvez.

that even in time of war and at a time when the latter made the greatest exertions to retain the affections of the Indian nations, we won them over although our resources were inferior. Their friendship for us still continues and will probably remain even more firmly rooted in the future, unless our own conduct gives express reason for the contrary.

As for the information concerning the great number of emigrants who are fleeing from the colonies [*i.e.*, the United States] and are trying to settle northward of Louisiana or to take refuge in the province itself,⁴¹ it is too delicate a matter for anyone who knows the Americans and the circumstances of those regions to venture to foretell what must be the consequences. Perhaps the way to prevent evil consequences would be (as I understand it) to admit immediately [to Louisiana] all those who present themselves; for, since they arrive gradually and in small numbers, it seems the easier to use compulsion and to accustom them gradually to our religion, government and customs, because if we wished to deny them entrance there (which would be impossible even if it were desired), the result would be that, as their numbers grew and as their size became considerable, their settlements would increase until, finding themselves superior to our own, they would break the dike by which one would seek to restrain them and would inundate the province like a torrent and make themselves masters of it.

For this reason I have already given proper orders to the effect that the above-mentioned families as they arrive may be established at a suitable distance from one another, and that they be prohibited from bearing arms, or engaging in hunting (as most of them are eager to do), reducing them all to the single class of farm laborers.⁴²

These, in addition to the necessary careful conduct which it will always be incumbent upon that government [*i.e.*, of Louisiana] to observe, are the only precautions that I conceive must be taken at present to avert all future [ill] consequences; and this is what I have to communicate to your Excellency on this matter.

May God protect your Excellency many years. Madrid, December 20, 1783.

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Señor Don José de Gálvez.

VI. DIEGO DE GARDOQUI AL CONDE DE FLORIDABLANCA
SOBRE EL VIAJE DEL *CHAMBEQUIN*.

Habana, 13 de Enero de 1785

Exmo. Señor.

Reservada. Mui señor mio, Por la adjunta copia de mi ultima reservada vera V.E. la extraña navegacion que hizo la fragata que me conducia, y ahora dire a V.E. mui por maior lo que mi salud me permite, reduciendome a lo que no hai la menor duda, ni asomo de pasion ni queja, pues a ninguno de los Oficiales de mi embarcacion he conocido hasta verlos; ni he tenido en mi particular desavenencia con ellos.

A pocos dias de navegacion empece a notar que los dos Comandantes se quejaban altamente de su Inspector en Cadiz y aun del Ministro, que no les suministrava con lo necesario para el buque. Llego a tanto en una ocasion que no pude menos de decirles amistosamente que no tenian razon de quejarse del Ministro porque me constava que havia dado orden para que se preparase con quanto era preciso para el viage, y que el Comandante debio haverse quejado, si se lo negaron.

Lo cierto es Señor Exmo. que salio este buque sin reconocimiento de sus bajos Velas, ni jarcia, pues esta se hallo tan podrida que a cada paso se rompia en tiempo sereno. El casco tenia una quarta de yerva, y todo el resto completamente abandonado, de modo que conocimos luego que nunca pensaron ir a nuestro destino sin un perfecto reparo.

El 27 de Novre. crecio la mar y arrecio el viento, y reconocieron que havia bastante agua en la bodega, y luego resolvieron correr con el viento, y desaguarla, pero havia ya quatro vezes que las bombas estaban abandonadas y ciegas, en terminos que pasaron 48. horas antes de poderlas poner corrientes, conque si el tiempo huviera sido tan fuerte que hiciese trabajar al buque huvieramos perecido miserablemente.

VI. DIEGO DE GARDOQUI TO THE CONDE DE FLORIDABLANCA RELATIVE TO THE VOYAGE OF THE *CHAMBEQUIN*.

Havana, January 13, 1785⁴³

Most Excellent Sir:

Dear Sir: By the enclosed copy of my last confidential dispatch your Excellency will see the curious voyage of the frigate that brought me over. I will now tell your Excellency in a very general way as much as my health permits me, confining myself to matters concerning which there is not the least doubt or any trace of passion or resentment, for I was not acquainted with any of the officers of my ship before I saw them; nor did I have any serious difficulty with them.

Confidential.

When we were a few days out, I began to notice that the two commanding officers complained loudly of their inspector at Cadiz and even of the minister, saying that they had not been provided with the necessary equipment for the boat. It came to such a pass on one occasion that I could do no less than tell them in a friendly way that they were not justified in complaining of the minister, because I knew that orders had been given for them to be prepared with whatever was necessary for the voyage and that the commanding officer should have lodged a complaint if anything had been denied him.

What is certain, most excellent sir, is that this ship sailed without an inspection of its hull, sails, or rigging, for the last was so rotten that it was constantly breaking even in fair weather. The hull was covered with seaweed to a depth of several inches, and all the rest of the ship was in such utter disrepair that we soon knew they had no idea of going on to our destination without complete repairs.

On November 27, the sea rose and the wind blew with greater intensity, and it was discovered that there was a good deal of water in the hold. They decided at once to run before the wind and to man the pumps, but these had already been out of commission and stopped up for four months, with the result that it was forty-eight hours before they could be got to work, so that if the storm had been so violent as to make the ship labor we should all have perished miserably.

En vista de esto le temieron, y haciendo una junta oculta que la pintaron segun les convenia resolvieron arribar a Puerto Rico reservandolo de mi, porque recelava el Comandante que yo insistiria en arribar a Canarias o a Madera de que estavamos mui proximos y con viento en popa para la primera de estas Islas, donde huviera encontrado frecuentes ocasiones para mi destino, pero esto no le acomodava a sus intereses.

Bajamos a la suave altura que les convenia donde se puede navegar con una lancha, y sin embargo fue tanto la ignorancia que no solo se anticiparon 5 dias en buscar tierra, sino que quando la havian ya visto dos dias, no la conocieron en medio de ser tan experimentadas por ellos, y con tiempo hermoso, claro, y favorable se empeñaron en meterse entre dos montes que forman las Islas San Tomas y Culebra, creiendo que era la entrada de Puerto Rico, pero quiso la piedad de Dios que avistasemos una embarcacion Catalana que con arto sonrojo de nuestros Comandantes, nos saco del peligro, nos sirvio de Lazarillo hasta el citado puerto.

Gracias a un consejo prudente que admitio el Comandante de tomar un buen practico en Puerto Rico, porque sino estavamos aun en el mar.

Nada de quanto acontesca me extrañara ya, porque en medio de que ni soi guapo ni marino, he visto que si por desgracia tenemos muchos de estos, no debemos esperar sino fatalidades.

He visto algunas Marinas estrangeras, pero ninguna en que los Oficiales no observen y examinen la altura y lleven su diario, y en el chambequin solo hai el Alferez de navio mas antiguo (a quien acaban de hacer Teniente) que cumple con estas obligaciones, y porque lo hace y es Oficial activo, ha tenido sus pesadumbres; los demas no han dado una plumada en todo el viage, reduciendo su vida a abominar de su oficio, pensar en ganar con introducciones ylicitas para dejarlas, y en quanto llega el caso de embiar el diario, copiarlo del que forma el Piloto.

He averiguado en el viage la causa de que este Comandante no huviese pedido el reconocimiento del buque en Cadiz y se reduce a que le huvieran declarado inepto, y temido perder un viage en que contava utilizarse de catorce a diez y seis mil pesos que aun actualmente tiene la devilidad de lisonjearse el ganarlos por el indigno

Because of this they were apprehensive that we should be wrecked and, in a secret council, which they described to suit themselves, they decided to put into Puerto Rico, concealing their decision from me, for the commandant was afraid that I might insist upon putting into the Canaries or Madeira, for they were very close at hand and we could have run before the wind to the first of these islands, where I should have found frequent opportunities to go to my destination; but this was not in accordance with their interests.

We descended to the mild latitude that suited them, where one could sail safely with a gig, and yet so great was their ignorance that they not only looked for land five days before they found it but even when they had been in sight of it for two days they did not recognize it; and although they were so well acquainted with it and although the weather was beautiful, clear, and favorable they tried to pass between two mountains that form the islands of St. Thomas and Culebra in the belief that it was the entrance to Puerto Rico, but by the mercy of God we sighted a Catalonian vessel which, after roundly abusing our commandants, got us out of danger and played blind man's guide to us into the above mentioned port.

Fortunately our captain took good advice and engaged a competent harbor pilot at Puerto Rico, for otherwise we should still be at sea.

Nothing that can happen will ever surprise me again, for while I am neither a valiant man nor a sailor, I have observed that if we are so unfortunate as to have many of that ilk, we need expect nothing but trouble.

I have seen something of foreign navies, but I never yet saw one in which the officers did not take their reckonings and keep a log, and yet in the *Chambequin* it was only the senior ensign (who has just been made lieutenant) who performs this duty; and because he does it and is an active officer he has had his troubles. The rest of them never made a scratch of the pen during the whole voyage but spent all their time abusing their profession, planning how to make money by smuggling, and, when the time came to transmit the ship's log, in copying it from the one kept by the pilot.

I ascertained during the voyage the reason why the commandant did not ask to have the ship inspected at Cadiz, and it amounted to this: that it would have been declared unseaworthy, and he was afraid he might lose a voyage by which he expected to make from fourteen to sixteen thousand pesos, which he still fondly flatters himself he will make by the disgraceful expedient of taking a thou-

medio de conducir mil barriles de Arina y cantidad de sarasas y otros efectos prohibidos.

No se admire V. E. de esto porque aun no se ha pensado en descargar la hacienda que conduce de S.M. y me aseguran que ha puesto su tienda avierta con los efectos de su ancheta a nombre de un criado. Asi parece que sirven al Rey en este mundo segun me aseguran hombres sensatos.

Por indecentes dejo otras mil circunstancias, y paso a ynformar a V.E. que si recupero algo de mi salud, procurare del Intendente algunos de los correos de V.E. que no haga falta, y si esto no se verificase y llegase el Conde de Galvez le pedire se facilite alguna otra embarcacion mercante que me conduzca a mi destino sin molestar mas a estos Señores de Marina.

A los dos praticos Americanos que han sido publicamente despreciados los tengo en tierra a mi costa y pagare al Comandante su gasto de navegacion porque desde el primer dia me dijo que no tenia orden de mantenerlos.

No incluo a V.E. una carta de estos en que me previenen que no me aventure a otro viage con semejantes Oficiales porque me averguenzo de leerla.

Espero que V.E. disimule el que me desahogue por amor de la verdad, con el fin de que el remedio de estos males le produsca V.E., como que le contemplo el unico que es capaz de ponerle y que quanto llevo expuesto es *cierto*.

Dios quiera dar a V.E. la robusted que necesita el Estado, y que dispense sus ordenes a quien ruega le conserve ms. as. Havana 13. de Enero de 1785.

Exmo. Señor.

B.L.M. a V.E. su mas recondo. y obedte. Servr.

DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

[*Dirección:*] Exmo Señor Conde de Floridablanca

sand barrels of flour, a quantity of printed cottons and other prohibited articles.

Your Excellency should not wonder at this, because even yet they have given no thought to unload the property of his Majesty which they are carrying, and they assure me that the commandant has opened a shop with the articles belonging to his small stock and has put it in the name of a servant. This, it seems, is how they serve the king in this part of the world, as I am assured by judicious men.

I omit a thousand other details as indecent, and go on to inform your Excellency that if I recover my health somewhat, I shall solicit the intendant for some of your Excellency's packetboats if they can be spared, and if that should not be the case and the Conde de Gálvez arrives, I shall ask him to provide me with some other merchantman to take me to my destination without further molesting these naval gentlemen.

As for the two American pilots, who were publicly treated with contempt, I have them on shore at my expense, and I will pay the commandant their pilotage fees because on the very first day he told me that he had no order to employ them.

I am not sending your Excellency a letter from these pilots in which they warn me not to risk another voyage with such officers, for it makes me blush with shame to read it.

I hope that your Excellency will pardon me for unburdening myself out of love for the truth, to the end that your Excellency may find a remedy for these evils, for I regard you as the only person capable of doing so; and because all that I have said is *true*.

May it please God to give your Excellency the robust health that the state needs, and that you may give your orders to one who prays that you may preserve it many years. Havana, January 13, 1785.

Most Excellent Sir.

Your Excellency's most grateful and obedient servant kisses your hand.

DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Conde de Floridablanca, etc.

VII. VICENTE MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES, GOBERNADOR DE
LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL, AL MARQUÉS DE SONORA
CON UNA DESCRIPCIÓN DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL.

San Agustín, 12 de Mayo de 1787

Exñmo. Señor

[Pág. 1] Numº 17.

Reservada.

El Govº de Florº

Acompaña á S.E.

con esta repre-

sentacion, un

Quaderno que

comprende la

Descripcion de

esta Florida

Oriental de resultas

del reconocimiento

que há hecho de las

partes abitadas de

ella que dirige

reservadamente por

que trata de

algunas especies

que la requieren

proponiendo varios

puntos que concive

pueden conducir á

la Poblacion, y

felicidad de la

Provincia, pº que

impuesto el Rey,

por S.E. con

atencion á que el

principal objeto

del Governº no

és otro que él deseo

de hacér vér, que

del fomento de tan

importante Pais

podrán seguirse

grandes ventaxas

al bien del Estado,

resuelva S.M. lo

que fuere de su

Real Agrado.

Conseguente á mis representaciones numeros 180. y 185. de 24 de Diciembre, y 27. de Marzo ultimo, acompaño á V.E. el adjunto Quaderno, comprehensivo de una descripcion, ó bosquejo, él mas compendioso qº me há sido posible, de esta Florida Oriental, con expresion de su Clima, Terreno, Frutos, Rios, Bahias, y Puertos; Como asi mismo del numero, Religion, y Patria de los actuales havitantes: Lo dirijo reservadamente por que trata, bien que de paso, de algunas especies relativas á Americanos, é Yndios.

Empezé en efecto, Exñmo. Señor, el premeditado reconocimiento de los parajes avitados de esta Provincia, acompañado (ademas de los Sugetos que nombro en el citado nº 180.) de este Theniente de Cura Don Miguel O'Reilly, con Altár portatil, dirigiendome por él [pág. 2] Rio Norte, ó de San Marcos, hasta su nacimiento, desde donde pasé á visitar el remate del Cavo de Don Pablo, á fin de verificar la practivilidad del Canal de que reza el Quaderno: Segui luego por la Playa, hasta la Barra del Rio San Juan, y desde alli dos leguas por el mismo Rio arriva hasta él paráje que fue Poblacion Ynglesa, nombrado el Blof, y en donde mantengo Destacamento: De alli entrando por el Caño que guia al Puerto de Santa Maria entre la tierra firme, y las Yslas de Jorge, Talbot, y Amalia; Y reconociendo de paso el Rio de Nasau, su Barra, y la que llaman Ciega, llegué al Destacamento de la ultima nombrada Ysla, de ally, suvi por el Rio de Santa Maria veinte Leguas hasta el paraje donde haciendose badeable lo cruza el Camino Real para Georgia.

Regresé á la Ysla Amalia, y seguidamente por el antedicho Caño ál Destacamento del Rio de San Juan, donde bolviendo á embarcarme suvi dicho Rio unas setenta Leguas, hasta el Almacen Yndio de Panton, Leslie, y Compañia, en las inmediaciones de la Laguna Jorje: De alli regresé por el mismo Rio San Juan hasta la Hacienda de Don Francisco Felipe [pág. 3] Fatio, de donde me dirigi onze Leguas, por tierra hasta esta Plaza, después de un viage de ciento y

VII. VICENTE MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES, GOVERNOR OF EAST FLORIDA, TO THE MARQUÉS DE SONORA ENCLOSING A DESCRIPTION OF EAST FLORIDA.⁴⁴

St. Augustine, May 12, 1787

Most Excellent Sir

In accordance with my representations Nos. 180 and 185 of December 24, [1786], and March 27, [1787], I am sending your Excellency the enclosed paper consisting of a description or sketch,⁴⁵ as compendious a one as I was able to prepare, of East Florida, with a statement of its climate, soil, products, rivers, bays, and ports; as also of the number, religion, and national origin of its present inhabitants. I am sending it confidentially because it treats, although only in passing, of some matters relating to the Americans and the Indians.

I began, indeed, most Excellent Sir, the projected survey of the settled parts of this province, accompanied (in addition to the persons named in the above-mentioned dispatch No. 180) by the deputy curate, Don Miguel O'Reilly,^{45a} with a portable altar, going by way of the [p. 2] North (or St. Marks) River to its source, whence I continued on to the termination of the Cape of Don Pablo in order to determine the practicability of the channel prayed for in the paper.⁴⁶ I then continued along the beach to the bar of St. Johns River, and thence two leagues farther up the same river to the place where there was an English settlement called the Bluff,⁴⁷ where I am keeping a detachment. Thence I went by way of the channel that leads to the port of St. Marys between the mainland and George, Talbot, and Amelia Islands. After a brief inspection of Nassau River, its bar, and the place called *Ciega*,⁴⁸ I arrived at the post on the last named island. Thence I ascended the St. Marys River twenty leagues to a place where, as it can be forded, it is crossed by the road to Georgia.⁴⁹

I returned to Amelia Island and immediately by way of the afore-said channel to the post on St. Johns River, where, embarking once more, I ascended the said river some seventy leagues to the Indian store of Pantón, Leslie and Company near Lake George.⁵⁰ Thence I returned by St. Johns River to the plantation of Don Francisco Felipe [p. 3] Fatio,⁵¹ whence I made my way eleven leagues overland to this place, after a journey of one hundred and

[P. 1] No. 17.

Confidential.

The governor of Florida encloses in this representation to your Excellency a paper containing a description of East Florida based on the reconnaissance that he has made of the inhabited parts of it. He has endorsed it "confidential" because it deals with some matters that require this. He makes various suggestions that he believes may conduce to the settlement and the happiness of the province, in order that, after the king has been fully informed of this by your Excellency (considering the fact that the governor's principal object was simply the desire to demonstrate that great advantages for the welfare of the state might result from the development of so important a country), his Majesty may make whatever decision suits his royal pleasure.

cinquenta Leguas por Agua, y tierra, en él termino de veinte y ocho Dias.

Como las resultas de mi reconocimiento constan en el Bosquexo, solo manifestaré aquí á V.E. que habiendo tanteado, por el conducto del Capitan de Ybernia Don Carlos Howard, y él enunciado Sacerdote Don Miguel O.Reilly, los principios de quantos Havitantes Britanicos encontré en mi viage hallé los mas de ellos dispuestos á instruirse en la Religion Catolica, y todos inclinados á que sus hijos se criasen en ella: En efecto tube la satisfaccion de presenciar el Baptismo de varios Parbulos, y de haver dispuesto la celebracion de Misa en la Ysla Amalia, la Hacienda de Fatio, y en él Almacen Yndio.

A dichos Havitantes no les falta industria, pero les desalienta él no saver todavia, en caso de aplicarse salida alguna para los Frutos de su traváxo: Contribuyendo tambien á su modorra el sér imposible hacérles creer que las tierras que habitan son proprias suyas, sin que se les expida formál Documento de Donacion, que [pág. 4] Yo no puedo otorgar á nadie, sin Orden de S.M. concivo que hasta que se les formalice semexantes Documentos, ninguno se esmerará en mexorár, y cercár devidamñe. la Hacienda que ocupa.

Por el indicado Bosquexo verá V.E. que los productos naturales de que hay inmediata proporcion para entablár comercio son Maderas excelentes, de casi todo genero, Cera de Mirto, y de Abeja, Miel, Yervas, y Plantas Medicináles, Naranjas, y su Zumo, Pescado saládo, Menestras, y sobre todo Brea, Alquitran, Resina, Terebenthina, y su Espiritu: De estos Betunes hai un material tan inagotáble, que siempre que havrá manos, industria, y medios para prepararlo, pienso se experimentará una abundancia que con él tiempo bastará para proveér de estos renglones á la Marina Real, y aun á la Mercantil, con total exclusion de los del Baltico: Lo cierto és que los Yngleses llegaron á exportar en un solo año arriva de cinquenta mil Barriles, sin que por ello se heche menos un Pino en el Dia.

Mas adelante formarán [pág. 5] otros ramos de Comercio el acopio de Cochinilla, y Barilla de que tál véz en ningun Pais del Mundo hai mayores cantidades: El Terreno és tambien á proposito para el cultivo de Arroz, Añil, Azucar, Algodon, y Cañamo, y por

fifty leagues by land and water during a period of twenty-eight days.

Since the results of my survey are set forth in the [enclosed] sketch, I shall here only declare to your Excellency that, by the agency of the Irish Captain Don Carlos Howard⁵² and the above mentioned priest, Don Miguel O'Reilly, I tested the principles of all the British inhabitants that I met during my journey and found most of them disposed to receive instruction in the [Roman] Catholic religion and all of them inclined to let their children be brought up in it. Indeed, I had the satisfaction of witnessing the baptism of several of the little ones and of arranging the celebration of the mass at Amelia Island, Fatio's plantation, and the Indian store.

These inhabitants do not lack industry, but it discourages them that they do not yet possess any outlet for the fruits of their labor supposing that they exert themselves. Their lethargy is also the greater because of the fact that they cannot be convinced that the lands they occupy are their own property unless a formal written grant is issued to them—a thing that [p. 4] I have no power to issue to anyone without an order from his Majesty. I am of the opinion that until such documents are drawn up for them not one of them will exert himself to make the necessary improvements upon his estate and properly fence it.

By the above mentioned sketch your Excellency will see that the native products with which trade can be established immediately are excellent timber of almost every kind, myrtle-wax, beeswax, honey, herbs and medicinal plants, oranges and their juice, salt fish, vegetables, and above all, pitch, tar, resin, turpentine, and spirits of turpentine. There is an inexhaustible supply of materials for these resinous substances, and I believe that, whenever there are hands, energy, and means for preparing them, there will prove to be such an abundance that in time it will suffice to provide the royal navy and even the merchant marine with these articles, to the total exclusion of those from the Baltic. What is certain is that the English had reached the point of exporting more than fifty thousand barrels in a single year without causing so much as one pine tree to be missed today.

Later on [p. 5] the gathering of cochineal and salt-wort, of which perhaps no other country in the world has a larger supply, will constitute additional branches of commerce. The soil is also suitable for the cultivation of rice, indigo, sugar, cotton, and hemp, and since the hill-country is adapted to the breeding of livestock,

lo propicio que son los Montes á la cria de Ganádo, con el tiempo, podrán exportarse Carnes saladas, Cueros, Manteca, &^a

En seguimiento, con atencion á haver la Real piedad premeditado el fomento, y poblacion de este Pais, y por sér constante que Poblacion, y Comercio se dán la mano, expongo en el Bosquexo el Genero de trafico que mis moderadas Luces, ayudadas de mi tál quál experiencia de la constitucion actual de esta Provincia me hacen créer prop^o tanto para llenár las indicadas benignissimas Soveranas intenciones, como para prestar Alma, y vigor á esta tierna Republica, que acavada de nacér se halla todavia tan devil que apénas se le conoce mas señal de existencia que su nombre; Pero és de esperar que dignandose la Real voluntad proporcionar salida á los enunciados Frutos en los terminos que propóne el Bosquexo, y otros mas conformes á la Soverana saviduria, irá la Poblacion tomando cuerpo con rapidos progresos, á que contribuirán, sin duda, [pág. 6] mucho el instable Gobierno patentes disenciones, y poco Comercio que en el Dia tienen rebultos a los Estados todavia impropriamente llamados unidos; De manera que és verosimil, que no pocos de la Gente Europea que han emigrado á la America Septentrional de cinco años á esta parte, en busca de Establecimientos, y riquezas ilusorias, desengañados ya, se estimaran felices de sér admitidos Vasallos de S.M.

Semexantes Europeos son los mas apropositos para poblár este Pais, pues pobres, y desvalidos en America, y separados de sus respectivas Patrias por el vasto Mar Atlantico se estableceran, es de presumir, con constancia, y agradecida fidelidad en las Tierras que les señalare proprias la Real Generosidad: Mas de ningún modo conviene recibir en la Provincia naturales de la misma America, á causa de que sé puede decir siempre se hallan aqui como á la Puerta de la Casa nativa.

Coincide perfectamente la enunciada Casta de Pobladores, con el feliz pensamiento que la elevada penetracion de V.E. vacio en real Orden de 8. de Marzo del año proximo pasado, tocante [pág. 7] á premeditar que el Encargado de Negocios por S.M. en Nuéva Yorck, procurase inclinár á los Catolicos que pudiera á colonizár en esta Florida.

Aqui Exño. Señor, no puedo menos que aumentar que contribuiria mucho á el adelantamiento de tan Patriotico intento, él permiso que se propone én él Bosquexo de tratár por Viveres, y éfectos

the time will come when salt meat, skins, lard, and other things can be exported.

Next, since the royal clemency has taken thought for the development and settlement of this country and since it is well known that settlement and commerce go hand in hand, I set forth in the sketch the kind of trade which my limited intelligence, aided by my knowledge, such as it is, of the present state of this province, makes me believe proper both to carry out the aforesaid most benign intentions of his Majesty, and to give spirit and vigor to this young republic, which, new-born, is still so weak that there is hardly any other sign of its existence than its name. But it is to be hoped that, when the royal will is pleased to provide an outlet for the said products in the manner proposed in the sketch, or in other ways as the wisdom of the sovereign may direct, the population will continue to grow at a rapid pace. This process will no doubt [p. 6] be hastened by the unstable government, obvious dissensions, and scanty commerce, which at the present time are keeping in commotion the States still inappropriately called "United"; consequently, it is probable that not a few of the Europeans who have emigrated to North America during the last five years in search of settlements and illusory riches, and who are already disillusioned, will think themselves fortunate if they are received as subjects of his Majesty.⁵³

Such Europeans are the most suitable immigrants for this country, for, since they are poor and destitute in America and are separated from their respective fatherlands by the vast Atlantic Ocean, it is to be presumed that they will settle in good faith and with grateful loyalty upon the lands that may be assigned them for their own by the king's generosity. But it would by no means be advisable to admit natives of the said America [*i.e.*, the United States] into the province because one might say that they would then be as it were at the door of their original home.

The above mentioned class of immigrants fits in perfectly with the happy thought to which the exalted penetration of your Excellency gave expression in the royal order of March 8 of last year relative [p. 7] to planning that the chargé d'affaires of his Majesty in New York should try to induce such Catholics as he could to settle in this Florida.⁵⁴

Here, most Excellent Sir, I can do no less than add that it would contribute greatly to the progress of so patriotic a plan if permission were given, as is proposed in the sketch, to trade with the

de primera necesidad por algúnos años con el Americano en cambio de Cera de Mirto, Miel, y particularmente Naranjas, su Zumo, Yervas medicinales, y varias Maderas de valór de que careze el Norte, resultaria de semexánte comunicacion no solamente la facilidad de atraher Pobladores, sino tambien la ventaja de poder Yo, sin nota de los Americanos, interin un ajuste difinitivo con ellos, entenderme, sin demóra con Don Diego de Gardoqui, pór sér este Puerto, sin duda, él mas á la mano para avisárnos el, y Yó reciprocamente qualquiera novedád extraordinaria sea en estas Fronteras, ó en las maquinaciones del Congreso.

La poblacion actual de este Pais, con exclusion de la Guarnicion, y Emplead.[*sic*] [pág. 8] por el Rey, se reduce á novecientas Personas blancas de toda edád, y sexo, y quatrocientas noventa piezas de Esclavos: De la Gente blanca hai treinta y un naturales de España, veinte y cinco Ysleños (son de los que estuvieron en Panzacola, y vinieron á esta de Real Orden, su floxedad me obliga á participar á V.E. que solo sirven para gasto inutil al real Herario) sesenta y dos Floridanos quatrocientos quarenta y ocho Menorquines, Ytalianos, y Griegos, y trescientos treinta y nueve Britanicos recibidos vaxo la real proteccion. De estos son ya setenta Catolicos.

Es evidente que tan corto numero de Havitantes no prestan vastantes manos para acopiar Frutos del Pais, suficientes para igualar el importe de los renglones que de á fuera necesita la Comunidad, por cuya razon se arriesga en el Bosquexo la idea de permitir por diez años el genero de Comercio libre que fuére del real agràdo, y que interin tomase aumento la Poblacion, se permitiera por dos años siquiera, á fin de evitar toda extraccion de Dinero, el que los verdaderamente avecindados en este Presidio (no otro algúno vaxo de qualquier pretexto que fuere) [pág. 9] haciendo venir de la Havána, y descargando aqui los productos de la Ysla de Cua, los buelvan á cargar, para cambiarlos en los Estados Americanos, contra los indicados viveres, y efectos de primera necesidad.

En caso de sér incompatible con las savias maximas del Estado, la tolerancia de semexánte trafico, podrá substituirse igual giro con las Yslas Francesas, ú de Barlovento, donde tendrá siempre pronta, y segura salida todo genero de Madéras para fabrica de Casas; Como asimismo Tablones, Perchas, Duélas, Remos, Taxamani, y

Americans for some years, taking their provisions and articles of prime necessity in exchange for myrtle-wax and beeswax, and especially oranges and their juice, medicinal herbs, and various fine woods that are lacking in the north. From such intercourse would result not only ease in attracting immigrants, but also the advantage that I could communicate with Don Diego de Gardoqui without delay and without the knowledge of the Americans, pending a definitive adjustment with them, since this port is, without doubt, the most convenient one by which he and I might inform each other of any extraordinary occurrence either on the frontiers of this province or in the machinations of congress.

The present population of this country, excluding the garrison and those employed [p. 8] in the king's service, is only nine hundred white persons of all ages and both sexes, and four hundred and ninety slaves. Of the white people, thirty-one are natives of Spain; twenty-five, of the Canary Islands (they are among those who were in Pensacola, and they came here by virtue of a royal order. Their sloth compels me to inform your Excellency that they are nothing but a source of useless expense to the royal treasury); sixty-two Floridians; four hundred and forty-eight Minorcans, Italians, and Greeks; and three hundred and thirty-nine Britons who have been taken under the king's protection. Of the latter, seventy are already Catholics.

It is obvious that so small a number of inhabitants do not provide enough hands to gather the products of the country in sufficient quantity to equal the value of the articles that the community needs from abroad. For this reason, the suggestion is ventured in the sketch that for a period of ten years such a measure of free trade as may please the king shall be granted; and that, while the population is increasing, permission be given for at least two years, in order to prevent any exportation of specie, allowing the bona fide inhabitants of this presidio (and no others under any pretext whatever) [p. 9] to bring the products of the Island of Cuba from Havana to this place, unload them here, re-export them, and exchange them in the American States for the above mentioned provisions and articles of prime necessity.

In case it should be incompatible with the wise maxims of state to permit such trade, one could substitute similar intercourse with the French or Windward Islands, where there will always be a ready and safe market for all kinds of lumber for the construction of houses, as also for planks, spars, staves, oars, shingles and

Menestras, llevando en retorno Frutos de aquellas Yslas que tengan despácho con él Americano, y trayendo de aquél á esta los Viveres, y éfectos necesarios.

Yndependientemente de los expresados motivos, milita el poderoso de sér de todos modos tan absolutamente destituidos de medios los actuales Havitantes exeptos unos seis, ú ocho, que son Dueños de tres partes de los Esclavos de la Provincia, que és imposible á su Pobreza el proveérse de Ropa, y demás necesarios de la vida á los suvidos precios de lá [pág. 10] Havána, y mucho menos quando á dichos precios se agregan el gasto de transporte, y la ganancia que querra tener aqui el vendedor.

Es mui justo, Exño. Señor, y siempre que el Rey lo mande con-vendrá, sin duda, al bien del Estádo, que quanto se consume en estos Reáles Almazenes venga de la Havana ; Pero que un pobre Poblador al cavo de un año, quando havrá coxido su primera Cosecha, ó un Menorquin con Mugér, y quatro, ó cinco Hijos (és una Gente tan fecunda que se vé, con frecuencia, una Madre en cinta, con una Criatura en los Brazos, y arrastrando otra de la mano) que no gana un medio peso fuerte al dia haya de abrigar su Familia con Generos conducidos de aquella Plaza, y alimentárla con Pan venido de Nueva España, devo decir, en conciencia, que lo considero imposible á sus mas industriosos esfuerzos, á lo menos, como ya tengo dicho, hasta que se fomente él Pais, por algúnos años, con tal quál livertád de Comercio: Mis deseós del mexór servicio del Rey, me obligan á añadir que de lo contrario, en lugár de ir en aumento la actual Poblacion se irá derritiendo quál Nieve, sin poder [pág. 11] remediarlo este Gobierno por su proximidad á los Estados Americanos.

Es en realidad, Señor Exño, tal la constitucion de esta Provin-cia, tanto por su inmediacion á una nacion éxtrangerá, como por su separacion, mediante la peligrosa navegacion del Canál de Bahama, del Seno Mexicano, y demas Dominios del Rey en Yndias, que mis anhelos del adelantamiento de los reáles intereses, me imponen la obligacion de hacér respetuosánte presente á V.E. con perfecta sumision á las superiores luzes, y experiencia que le ilustran, sér mi humilde parecér, que luego que esta Provincia tenga fomento, lexos de convenir que se surta de Viveres, y Ropa de la Havána, será

vegetables; taking in return such products of those islands as Americans will consume, and bringing thence to this place the provisions and necessary articles.

In addition to those already set forth there is another important consideration, namely, that, except for six or eight persons who are the owners of three fourths of all the slaves in this province, the present inhabitants are so completely destitute of means that it is impossible for them in their poverty to provide themselves with clothes and other necessities of life at the high prices prevailing at [p. 10] Havana, especially when these prices are further increased by the cost of transportation and the profit that the seller would expect here.

It is very just, most Excellent Sir, and whenever the king so orders it will doubtless conduce to the welfare of the state, that whatever is consumed in these royal warehouses should come from Havana; but that a poor immigrant at the end of one year, when he has made his first crop, or a Minorcan with a wife and four or five children (these people are so prolific that one frequently sees a pregnant mother with a baby at the breast and leading another child by the hand) who does not earn half a *peso fuerte* a day, should have to provide his family with goods brought from that place [Havana] and feed them with food from New Spain—I must honestly say that I consider such a thing impossible even with the most industrious efforts on their part, at least, as I have already said, until this country has developed for several years with some measure of free trade. My desire for the best service of the king compels me to add that, in the contrary case, the present population, instead of increasing, will go on melting away like the snow; and, [p. 11] because of the proximity of the American States, this government will not be able to prevent it.

In fact, most Excellent Sir, the situation of this province is such, both because of its proximity to a foreign nation and because of its separation from the Gulf of Mexico and the other dominions of the king in the Indies by the perilous navigation of the Bahama Channel,⁵⁵ that my anxiety for the advancement of the royal interests imposes upon me the obligation of respectfully informing your Excellency, with perfect submission to the superior intelligence and experience that distinguish you, that in my humble opinion, once this province does develop, far from agreeing that it should be supplied with provisions and clothing from Havana, it would be

preferible el privarla de toda comunicacion con el Seno Mexicano, y limitar su Comercio enteramente á la Patria Madre.

Sigue él Bosquexo apuntando la necesidad de señalarse lineas divisorias entres nuestras Poblaciones, y las Cazerias de los Yndios, á fin de precavér á tiempo, sin embargo de la actual buena armonia que se mantiene con aquella Gente, futuras discordias, parecidas á las que [pág. 12] subsisten en el dia, entre ellos, y los Georgianos.

A continuacion manifiesto á V.E. que se necesita establecér, pór ahóra, tres Parroquias en el Campo, que deveran servir cinco Sacerdotes Yrlandeses, y estos tenér las facultades de Misioneros Apostolicos.

Prosigue el Bosquexo exponiendo que respecto á que el fomento de Matrimonios merece particular atencion en todo Pais nuevo, y que los Derechos de Casamientos, Entierros, &^a son tan crecidos en la actualidad aqui, como en la Ysla de Cuya, convendrá, tál vez, bien considerada la opulencia de aquellos Havitantes, é indigencia de estos que se haga, por algunos años, una moderáda reváxa.

Sigue la exposicion de necesitarse un Cirujano que hable Yngles, para asistencia de los nuévos Colónos, y se insinua que convendrá que la Botica de este Real Hospital, la unica de la Provincia tenga orden de despachár gratis las precisas Medicinas a los Colónos necesitados, y por su justo valór, á los que se hallen [pág. 13] con medios para satisfacerlas.

En seguimiento se representa a V.E. la necesidad de un Agri-mensór, y se apuntan reglas para su gobierno en la reparticion de tierras, y Plano que deverá levantár de las que havrá mensurado en virtud de Real Donacion.

En quanto á Sugeto á propósito para servir de organo, segun expresa el Bosquexo, entre este gobierno, y los Pobladores, mientras sé halle comisionado aqui de Secretario el Capitan del Reximiento de Ynfanteria de Ybernia Don Carlos Howard, no hai nada que deseár; Pués ademas de acompañarle las circunstancias que manifesté en representacion numero 185. de 27. de Marzo ultimo, devo en Justicia hacér presente á V.E.; á fin de que lo ponga, si lo tuviere por conveniente en noticia de S.M. que acreditó ser zeloso servidór del Rey, con motivo de havér pasado de la Havana á esta con anticipacion de unos tres Meses á mi partida, para prevenir al Gobierno Ynglés que se disponian las fuerzas de S.M. á pasar al recibo de la Provincia, en cuyo intermedio tubo este oficial él acierto de desbaratár mediante su [pág. 14] espíritu, abilidad, y prudencia las bien

better to cut it off from all communication with the Gulf of Mexico and confine its commerce entirely to the mother country.

The sketch goes on to note the necessity of marking boundaries between our settlements and the hunting grounds of the Indians, in order to forestall in time, despite the harmony in which we live at present with those people, future discord such as that which [p. 12] prevails today between them and the Georgians.

I then point out to your Excellency that for the present three parishes should be established in the country, which should be served by five Irish priests with the powers of apostolic missionaries.

The sketch continues with the declaration that, since the encouragement of marriages deserves particular attention in all new countries and since the fees for weddings, burials, and other things are at present as high here as in the Island of Cuba, it would perhaps be advisable to make a moderate reduction for several years, in view of the wealth of those people [*i.e.*, the Cubans] and the indigence of these people.

The sketch goes on to show the need for a surgeon who can speak English, to attend the new colonists. It is suggested that it would be well to order the apothecary's shop of this royal hospital, the only one in the province, to supply the necessary medicines gratis to the needy colonists and at a reasonable price to those who are [p. 13] able to pay for them.

Your Excellency is next informed of the need for a surveyor, and suggestions are made as to regulations to govern him in the division of lands and as to the map that he should prepare showing those that he shall have surveyed by virtue of royal grants.

As for a person suitable to serve as a medium between this government and the immigrants, as the sketch suggests, nothing is left to be desired so long as Don Carlos Howard, captain of the Irish Infantry Regiment, remains here as secretary. Not only does he possess the qualifications that I mentioned in dispatch No. 185 of March 27, last, but justice also requires me to inform your Excellency, in order that, if you think it advisable, you may call it to the attention of his Majesty, that he [Howard] proved himself a zealous servant of the king by coming from Havana to this place three months before I did in order to inform the English governor that the forces of his Majesty were being prepared to come to take over the province. In the interval this official [Howard] succeeded by his [p. 14] spirit, skill, and prudence in destroying the very

patentes maquinaciones de un Cavallero Ynglés llamado Don Juan Cruden, quien apoyádo, bien se save secretamente del Governador Britanico, procuró commovér los Havitantes á oponerse á fuerza de Armas á la entrega del Pais: Consta lo referido en varias representaciones al Conde de Galvez, pero mas particularmente en las numero 36. de 12. de Diciembre de 1784. y 158. de 12. de Agosto del año proximo pasado.

Concluye el Bosquexo con la apuntacion de 16. articulos, comprehensivos tantos de las ventajas que humildemente concivo puede otorgar la Real munificencia compatiblemente con los intereses de la Coróná, á los presentes, y futuros Colonos; Como de las obligaciones en que deverá hallárse constituido todo Poblador que llegue á sér participante de la Soverana benignidad.

Suplicó á V.E. se sirva hacerme la justicia de créer que quanto propongo en el preindicado Bosquexo, ó expongo en esta representacion, no tiene mas obxeto, ni fin que el que me dictan mis [pág. 15] obligacion, y anhelo de promovér, en quanto me lo permita mi insuficiencia, vaxo los patrioticos auspicios de V.E. la Gloria de mi Soverano, el bien del Estado, y la felicidad de los pobres que se dignó la real piedád poner á mi cargo.

En todo lo expuesto hé procurado el acierto, sin padecér de la presuncion de haver en parte algúna acertádo; Hé manifestado mi humilde parecer con respetuosa entereza, y zelo: Las superiores luces de V.E. savran dár á ello el valór que merece, si merece algúno, y el Rey resolverá lo que fuere de su Real voluntad.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos felices años, que deseo y hé menestér: San Agustin de la Florida, 12. de Mayo de 1787.

Ex^{mo} Señor

VIZ^{TE} MAN^L DE ZESPEDES

[Rubricado]

[Dirección:] Ex^{mo}. S^{or} Marq^s de Sonora.

[Pág. 16 en blanco]

obvious machinations of an English gentleman named Don John Cruden,⁵⁶ who, as is well known, secretly aided by the British governor, tried to arouse the inhabitants to oppose by force of arms the transfer of the country. This incident is mentioned in various despatches to Count Gálvez, especially in Nos. 36 (December 12, 1784), and 158 (August 12, of last year [1786]).

The sketch concludes with a draft of sixteen articles, containing an equal number of privileges which, in my humble opinion, the royal munificence can grant in conformity with the interests of the crown to the present and future colonists. It also states the obligations that should be imposed upon every immigrant who shall share in the royal bounty.

I beg your Excellency to do me the justice to believe that whatever I propose in the aforesaid sketch or set forth in this despatch, has no other object or end than that which is dictated by my [p. 15] duty and desire to promote, to the extent of my limited powers, under the patriotic auspices of your Excellency, the glory of my sovereign, the good of the state, and the happiness of the poor people whom the king's mercy was pleased to put in my care.

In all that has been said I have sought after accuracy, without suffering from the delusion that I have been entirely accurate in any respect. I have expressed my humble opinion with respectful rectitude and zeal. The superior intelligence of your Excellency will be able to assign it the value it deserves, if it deserves any, and the king will decide whatever may be his royal will.

God preserve your Excellency many happy years, which I desire and think necessary. St. Augustine, Florida, May 12, 1787.

Most Excellent Sir,

VICENTE MANUEL DE CÉSPEDES

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Marqués de Sonora.

[P. 16 *blank*]

VIII. INSTRUCCIÓN RESERVADA DADA POR EL REY A LA SUPREMA JUNTA DE ESTADO.

Palacio, 8 de Julio de 1787

Instrucción reservada que la Junta de Estado creada formalmente por mi Decreto de este dia deberá obserbar en todos los puntos y ramos encargados a su conocimiento y dictamen.

[Artículo] 116.

Exenciones y moderaciones de derechos establecidas en el Reglamento del Comercio libre de Indias que conviene sostener, y extensión de las gracias concedidas a los Puertos menores.

Para facilitar estas ventajas se han disminuido considerablemente por el Reglamento del Comercio libre de America, y por otras resoluciones posteriores muchos derechos en los frutos de aquellas Provincias, y libertado otros enteramente de toda contribucion, eximiendose tambien de ella los Puertos llamados menores asi de Islas, como de varios parages del Continente; y encargo a la Junta este muy a la vista de que no solo se cumplan mis intenciones en esta parte, sino que se lleven adelante, y se extiendan a los demas Puertos y Provincias en que sea necesario este auxilio para fomentar su Comercio y población.

[Artículo] 123.

Proteccion que podran pedir y se deberá conceder a los Colonos que se separen de los Estados Unidos.

Hay cantidad de Colonos disgustados en el nuevo Estado, o Provincia de Kentuki, que confina con las nuestras y con el Misisipi, los quales en caso de negarseles la Navegación libre de aquel Rio, querrian separarse de los Estados Unidos, y ponerse bajo la proteccion de España. Han hechado esta especie algunas personas principales de dicho Estado, y conviene aprovecharla siempre que haya oportunidad, asi como se deben atraer a la proteccion y amistad de la España todas las Tribus de Indios intermedias para que sirvan tambien de barrera contra los Estados Unidos.

[Artículo] 153.

Islas extranjeras que incomodan nuestro Comercio, y son peligrosas en tiempo de guerra, especialmente Jamayca.

Lo mas peligroso para la España son las vecindades de las Islas extranjeras de Barlovento, asi para el Comercio Nacional, como para la seguridad de las nuestras, y de nuestro Continente en tiempo de guerra. En este punto ningun cuidado estara por demas mientras no podamos apoderarnos en una guerra lexitima de aquellas Islas que mas nos incomodan. Jamayca es un padrastro terrible a la entrada precisa del Seno Mexicano, desde donde puede ser interceptada nuestra Navegacion a él por qualquiera de los dos lados. Jamayca es el deposito de las fuerzas Navales y de tierra con que podemos ser invadidos y molestados en Islas y en el Continente antes de poder socorrernos: y Jamayca es el Almacen mas

VIII. CONFIDENTIAL INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE KING TO THE SUPREMA JUNTA DE ESTADO.⁵⁷

The Palace, July 8, 1787

Confidential instructions which are to be observed by the Junta de Estado formally created on this date by my decree with respect to all points and matters committed [to it] for its information and opinion.

In order to provide these advantages, many duties on the products of those provinces have been materially reduced by the Ordinance of Free Commerce to America,⁵⁸ and by other later resolutions, some articles being relieved from the payment of any duty whatever; this exemption being extended to the so-called minor ports of the islands as well as to various parts of the mainland. And I charge the Junta to be very careful not only to carry out my intentions in this respect, but also to amplify them and to extend them to other ports and provinces in which this assistance may be necessary in order to promote their commerce and settlement.

There are many dissatisfied colonists in the new state or province of Kentucky, which borders upon our provinces and the Mississippi, who, in case the free navigation of that river should be denied them, might wish to separate themselves from the United States and place themselves under the protection of Spain. Some of the leading people of the said state have expressed this idea, and it would be well to take advantage of it whenever the opportunity presents itself.⁵⁹ All of the intervening Indian tribes should also be won over to the protection and friendship of Spain in order that they too may serve as a barrier against the United States.⁶⁰

The greatest danger to Spain is the proximity of the foreign Windward Islands, both for the national commerce and for the safety of our own islands and mainland possessions in time of war. In this matter no precaution will be excessive so long as we are unable to conquer in a just war those islands which cause us the most trouble. Jamaica is a fearful impediment at the very entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, for from this base our shipping into the gulf can be intercepted on either side. Jamaica is a base for the naval and military forces with which we can be invaded and harassed in the islands and on the mainland before reinforcements can be sent; and Jamaica is the most convenient warehouse for contraband

[Article] 116. Exemptions and reductions of duties established in the Ordinance of Free Commerce to the Indies, which it is advisable to maintain; and extension of the privileges granted to the minor ports.

[Article] 123. Protection which may be requested and should be granted to the colonists who may separate themselves from the United States.

[Article] 153. Foreign islands which disturb our commerce and are dangerous in time of war, especially Jamaica.

proporcionado para el Comercio de Contravando en todos los Establecimientos Españoles de Islas y tierra firme.

[Artículo] 154.
Guarda costas
contra el Comercio
ilícito de Jamayca.

Asi pues el objeto de la España para remediar aquellos daños, y evitar los peligros, debe ser velar mucho contra Jamayca con buenos Guarda Costas, y buen corso en tiempo de paz; y pensar en apoderarse de aquella Isla en tiempo de guerra. Qualquier gasto y cuidado en esta materia sera inferior a su importancia.

[Artículo] 441.
Conducta con
los Estados
Americanos.

Con los demas Principes y Potencias de Africa, Asia y America no tenemos intereses que pidan particular instruccion. He dicho en otra parte, tratando de las cosas de Indias, lo que se debe practicar, y la conducta que se debe tener con los nuevos Estados Unidos Americanos. Se les debe manejar con politica, tratar bien en lo que no trayga grave inconveniente, y favorecerlos contra quien los quiera oprimir. En las materias de Comercio se les puede conceder lo mismo que a la Nacion mas favorecida; pero ha de ser despues de arreglados los limites con nuestras Floridas, y asegurada su exclusion de salir por el Misisipi al Seno Mexicano. En lo demas las discordias que reynan en aquellos Estados por su multitud e independencia nos son favorables, y siempre seran causa de su debilidad.

Palacio 8 de Julio de 1787.

YO EL REY.

IX. INFORME DE UNA JUNTA PARTICULAR DEL COMERCIO DE BARCELONA SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE LA LUISIANA Y LAS FLORIDAS.

Barcelona, 19 de Junio de 1788

Junta. Barcelona, junio 19 de 1788.

[*Carpeta*.:] Junta particular del Com^o de Barcelona.

Muy Yl^{re} S^{or}

En cumplimiento del encargo que V:S. se há servido hacernos con Oficio de 5 del pasado que acompaña la R^l Orden de S.M. que en fha de 21 Abril anterior comunicó á V.S. el Ex^{mo} S^{or} Baylio Fr. Dⁿ Antonio Valdés por medio del S^{or} Yntendente Presidente, para que sobre el Ynforme que con ella se pide á V.S. expongamos quanto se

trade in all the Spanish settlements in the islands and on the mainland.

Thus, then, in order to repair this damage and to avert danger, it must be the object of Spain to be on the alert against Jamaica with good revenue cutters and good patrolling in time of peace, and to plan the seizure of that island in time of war. Any expense or caution in this matter will be less than its importance deserves.

With the other princes and powers of Africa, Asia, and America we have no interests that require special instructions. I have said elsewhere, in discussing affairs pertaining to the Indies, what should be done and what our conduct should be in relation to the new United States of America. They should have politic handling, should be treated well in so far as no serious difficulty is involved, and should be favored against anyone who seeks to oppress them. In commercial matters they can be granted the treatment of the most favored nation, but this must be done only after the boundaries with respect to our Floridas are settled and after it has been assured that they shall be excluded from reaching the Gulf of Mexico by the Mississippi.⁶¹ As for the rest, the dissensions that are prevalent in those states by reason of their number and independence are favorable to us and will also be a source of weakness to them.

The Palace, July 8, 1787.

I THE KING.

[Article] 154.
Revenue cutters
against the illicit
trade of Jamaica.

[Article] 441.
Conduct with the
United States.

IX. REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS OF BARCELONA ON THE COMMERCE OF LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.⁶²

Barcelona, June 19, 1788

Board. Barcelona, June 19, 1788.

[*Wrapper*.:] Committee of Merchants of Barcelona.

Most Illustrious Sir

In compliance with the order which your Lordship has been pleased to give us in your despatch of the fifth of last month [*i.e.*, May], enclosing his Majesty's royal order which was communicated to your Lordship on April 21, preceding, by his Excellency, the bailío⁶³ Fray Don Antonio Valdés, through the medium of the intendant president, to the effect that we should declare whatever

nos ofreciere, teniendo presente que expresa dha Soberana resolucion (que debolvemos). Que enterado S.M. de que los Comerciantes Españoles atribuyen entre otras causas, la decadencia del Comercio de Nueva España, al clandestino que se hace por la Luisiana y Florida, abusando de sus franquicias, libertades y correspondencia directa con los Puertos de Francia, juzgando S.M. que si la España proveyese con abundancia, ó a lo menos con lo necesario dhos Parages se evitaria este inconveniente y se lograrán otras ventajas, quiere se le informe sobre los medios de establecer un Comercio entre los Puertos habilitados de la Peninsula y los de la Luisiana y Florida, en la inteligencia de que para fomentarle, se permitirá á los que hagan estas expediciones, q^e dejando en los de su destino la tercera parte de la Carga pasen á Vera Cruz y la Habana, con los efectos que no hayan podido vender; pagando solo la mitad de los Dros, q^e hubieran contribuido á su salida de España en derechura para Vera Cruz y Habana.

Hemos reflexionado sobre el asunto con aquella detencion y pulso q^e corresponden á la confianza, que há hecho S.M. de V.S., y á la particular con que nos há distinguido esta Junta, y enterados otra vez del informe, que sobre la actual situacion de nuestro Comercio, y relaciones con la America, q^e por disposicion de S.M. hizo V.S. y la Junta Gen^l de Comerciantes de esta Ciudad en el Mes de Enero de este año (en que fuimos tambien otros de los Comisionados) créemos, ante todas cosas, q^e se há de dar por presupuesto q^e la Navegacion á la Florida Oriental (en donde está el Puerto de Sⁿ Agustin) es diferente de la Occidental y Luisiana, que abraza los Puertos de Panzacola, Mobila y Nueva Orleans; que para navegar desde Sⁿ Agustin á la Habana ó Vera Cruz debe remontarse la Ysla de la Bermuda, y en seguida á la de S^{to} Domingo, quando por el Viage de Panzacola, Mobila y Nueva Orleans á dhos dos Puertos de Vera Cruz, y la Habana, se vá directamente y sin rodeos, y esta circunstancia, con las demas particularidades q^e ofrezan la situacion local de aquellos Puertos, y de los Territorios de sus dependencias, nos precisan á explicar nuestro concepto con separacion, por ser diferentes los fomentos y auxilios que juzgamos ser necessarios,

might be our opinion concerning the report requested therein from your Lordship, keeping in mind the contents of the said royal resolution, which we are returning—namely, that his Majesty, having learned that the Spanish merchants attribute the decline of commerce with New Spain, among other things, to the smuggling which is being carried on by way of Louisiana and Florida, through the abuse of their exemptions, privileges, and direct trade with the ports of France, his Majesty being of the opinion that if Spain were to supply the said regions abundantly or at least with the things needed, this difficulty would be removed and other advantages will be obtained, wishes to be informed as to the means of establishing trade between the habilitated ports of the peninsula and those of Louisiana and Florida, with the understanding that in order to promote it, those who engage in such trade, after leaving at the ports of their destination one-third of their cargo, should be permitted to proceed to Vera Cruz and Havana with the goods which they may not have been able to sell, by paying only one-half the duties which they would have paid on clearing from Spain direct to Vera Cruz and Havana :

We have pondered over this matter with the deliberation and care that are fitting in view of the confidence which his Majesty has placed in your Lordship and of the especial confidence with which he has honored this board. Having considered again the report upon the present condition of our commerce and our relations with America, which your Lordship and the general board of trade of this city made at his Majesty's order in the month of January of this year (we were also among those commissioned on that occasion), we believe that, in the very first place, it must be taken for granted that navigation to East Florida (where the port of St. Augustine is situated) is different from that to West Florida and Louisiana (which contain the ports of Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans) ; and that, in order to sail from St. Augustine to Havana or Vera Cruz it is necessary to pass around the island of Bermuda and thence to that of Santo Domingo, whereas the voyage from Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans to the two said ports of Vera Cruz and Havana is made directly and without detours. This fact, together with other peculiarities arising out of the local situation of those ports, and of the territories depending on them, forces us to express our opinion separately, because of the difference in the encouragement and aid which we deem necessary

para dejar verificadas las beneficas intenciones de S.M. dirigidas al maior Comercio de estos Reinos, y alivio de sus Vasallos.

El Puerto de Sⁿ Agustin en la Florida Oriental solo admite embarcaciones cargadas de poco porte, por no tener su Barra sino 8 ó 9 pies de agua; Se encuentra tambien en el desembarcadero del Canal de Bahamá, en donde, como en toda aquella costa (á no ser en el Verano) reinan regularmente muchos temporales que obligan á los Buques de algun porte (como particularmente lo son todos los de este Principado para el trafico de America) á quedarse ancladas fuera de la Rada á la inclemencia del tiempo: El Territorio de Sⁿ Agustin es de otra parte muy misero, de corta Poblacion y por consiguiente de poco Comercio, y se nos há informado q^e en el dia se aprovechan de el los Bostoneses con Bandera Española, proveyendo á aquellos Naturales de Arinas, Carnes saladas, y algunas ropas ordinarias, y q^e todos los retornos ó frutos comerciables de aquel Pahi quedan reducidos á una Corta porcion de Peleteria.

De estos antecedentes deducimos que para que los Españoles desde los Puertos habilitados puedan seguir con alguna utilidad el Comercio de la Florida Oriental, como desea S.M., es necesario; q^e se liberte á los Buques que lo emprendan, el trastorno grande q^e se les sigue de tener q^e remontar las Yslas de la Bermuda y S^{to} Domingo para hazer viage desde Sⁿ Agustin á la Habana ó Vera Cruz; y, para hazer cesar este inconveniente es nuestro parecer que deberia servirse S.M. permitirles, que antes de tocar al Puerto de Sⁿ Agustin pudiesen pasar primero á la Habana, descargar alli dos terceras partes y no mas de su cargazon, y q^e la tercera debiesen llevarla á Sⁿ Agustin, con la libertad de cargar en la Habana alguna porcion de Frutos, como Azucares, Tabaco, Aguardiente de Caña, y otros q^e puedan tener salida en Sⁿ Agustin; y de este modo, no solo se quita el grande perjuicio q^e se sigue á los Cargadores de esta Peninsula de hazer viage directo á Sⁿ Agustin libertandose de la remonta sobredicha, y q^e aligerandose el Buque pueda entrar en aquel Puerto, sino tambien q^e se aumente y fomente el Comercio entre las mismas Colonias de la America Española.

Tambien es nuestro dictamen, q^e la tercera parte de la cargazon destinada para Sⁿ Agustin ha de ser libre de todos los Dros, tanto á la Salida de los Puertos habilitados de España, como en su entrada en Sⁿ Agustin, y q^e las dos restantes terceras partes con destino á la Habana, unicamente adeuden la mitad de los Dros y Al-

in order to realize the beneficent intentions of his Majesty in respect to increasing the commerce of these kingdoms and relieving his subjects.

The port of St. Augustine in East Florida admits vessels in cargo of small tonnage only, for there are only eight or nine feet of water over its bar. Furthermore, this port is at the mouth of the Bahama Channel, where, as along the whole of that coast (except in summer) there are usually frequent storms which compel ships of considerable size (such especially as are all those of this Principality which are engaged in trade with America) to wait at anchor outside the roadstead during inclement weather. The region around St. Augustine is, moreover, very poor, with a small population and consequently with little commerce, and we have been told that Bostonians, flying the Spanish flag, are supplying the natives with flour, salt meat, and some common dry goods, and that all the returns or marketable products of that country consist of a small supply of peltry.

From these circumstances we conclude that, in order that Spaniards from the habilitated ports may carry on trade with East Florida with any profit, as his Majesty desires, it is necessary that the ships which engage in that trade should be released from the heavy burden of having to return by way of the islands of Bermuda and Santo Domingo in order to go from St. Augustine to Havana or Vera Cruz. In order to remove this obstacle, it is our opinion that his Majesty should be pleased to permit that, before proceeding to the port of St. Augustine, those ships may call first at Havana, discharge there two-thirds of their cargo and no more, the remaining one-third to be carried on to St. Augustine, with permission to take on at Havana some quantity of its products, such as sugar, tobacco, rum, and other things that may have a market at St. Augustine. Thus, not only will the great detriment suffered by the shippers of this peninsula in having to make a direct voyage to St. Augustine be removed by releasing them from the above mentioned return and by lightening the boat so that it may be able to enter that port, but commerce between the Spanish American colonies themselves will be increased and promoted.

It is likewise our opinion that the one-third of the cargo consigned to St. Augustine must be exempt from all duties, both on clearing from the habilitated ports of Spain and upon arrival at St. Augustine; and that the remaining two-thirds consigned to Havana should pay only one-half of the duties and excises that are

cabalas que en el dia pagan en España y la Habana los Generos y Frutos que de los Puertos habilitados van á este Puerto, como yá insinua la expresada R^l Orden; y en este caso seria conveniente, q^e en las Aduanas de dhos Puertos, al tiempo de la formacion de los Registros, se hiciese la distribucion de lo que se destine á cada parage á proporcion de las Toneladas del porte de los Buques, y no por el valor del cargo. Y como en Sⁿ Agustin á excepcion de alguna Peleteria no haya retorno, á fin que estos Buques no tengan de hacer un nuevo viage á la Habana, ú á otro parage de America, ó volver de vacio á España; podria servirse S.M. concederles, q^e despues de cumplida su descarga pudiesen pasar á los Estados de las Provincias Vnidas de America á cargar Arroz, Arinas, ú otros Frutos, pero ningun artefacto, con libertad de llevarlos á España ó bien á alguna de nuestras Yslas de America, pagando solo la mitad de los Dros q^e en el dia se hallan establecidos, tanto en aquellas Yslas como en la Peninsula, para que de este modo la Navegacion Española tenga la preferencia, ó pueda sufrir la concurrencia de la extranjera.

Por lo que mira al Comercio de la Luisiana y Florida Occidental, ó Plazas de Panzacola, Mobila, y Nueva Orleans desde los Puertos habilitados de España, como la citada Orden de S.M. yá viene á insinuar lo mismo que tenemos presentido, de que por medio de dhos Puertos hazen los Franceses el clandestino Comercio del Seno Mexicano; pensamos, que ahora sea para quitar del todo, ó disminuir en lo q^e se pueda el contrabando de los extrangeros, y para animar á los Españoles á que emprendan por sí proveher las dhas Colonias; se sirva S.M. permitir á los q^e emprendan este Comercio, que mientras vayan primero á los Puertos de Panzacola, Mobila, ó Nueva Orleans, descargando alli la tercera parte de su cargazon les sea facultativo conducir las dos restantes terceras partes á la Habana, ó, á Vera Cruz donde mas les acomodare: Que esta tercera parte con destino á los citados Puertos sea libre de todos dros en la Peninsula y America, del mismo modo que queda dho p^a el Puerto de Sⁿ Agustin de la Florida Oriental, y q^e las dos restantes destinadas p^a la Habana ó Vera Cruz solo adeuden la mitad de los R^s Dros y Alcabalas q^e en el dia pagan, tanto á su salida de España, como en la entrada en America, y consideramos oportuno advertir otra vez q^e la division de la carga en las partes referidas no há de medirse

at present paid in Spain and at Havana upon the goods and products which are taken to the latter port from the habilitated ports, as the above mentioned royal order indicates. And in this case it would be advisable that at the time of drawing up the register in the customhouses of the said ports, the distribution of the cargo consigned to each place should be made in proportion to the tonnage of the ships and not according to the value of the cargo. And, since there is no return cargo to be had in St. Augustine except some peltry, his Majesty might be pleased to grant them permission, after the discharge of their cargo—in order that these ships should not have to make another voyage to Havana or some other part of America, or else return empty to Spain—to proceed to the states of the United Provinces of America⁶⁴ for cargoes of rice, flour, or other produce, but no manufactured goods, and liberty to take them to Spain or to some of our islands in America, paying only one-half of the present established duties, both in those islands and in the peninsula, so that by this means Spanish shipping may have the advantage or at least may be able to meet the competition of foreign shipping.

In respect to the commerce of Louisiana and West Florida, or the towns of Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans, from the habilitated ports of Spain, since the said order of his Majesty virtually suggests the same thing that we have declared, namely, that the French are carrying on illicit trade in the Gulf of Mexico by way of these ports, we therefore think that now, either in order to wipe out completely or else to reduce as far as possible the smuggling by foreigners and in order to encourage Spaniards to undertake on their own account to supply the said colonies, his Majesty should be pleased to permit that, while those who undertake this commerce must first go to the ports of Pensacola, Mobile, or New Orleans and discharge one-third of their cargo, they shall have the option of taking the remaining two-thirds either to Havana or to Vera Cruz, whichever they find most convenient; that this one-third bound for the above-mentioned ports be exempt from all duties in the peninsula and in America, in the same manner as stated above for the port of St. Augustine in East Florida; and that the remaining two-thirds consigned to Havana or Vera Cruz pay only one-half of the royal duties and excises that are paid at present both upon their departure from Spain and upon their arrival in America. And we consider it advisable to mention once more that the division of the cargo into the parts mentioned should not be measured according to

por el valor de los generos, sino por toneladas, respecto q^e el Comercio q^e en el dia puede hazerse en aquellas Provincias, no permite giros ni consumos de Generos de Luxo, ó de mucho valor: Y á fin que los habitantes de la Luisiana y de una y otra Florida estén persuadidos, q^e las Soberanas intenciones de S.M. se dirigen á su maior prosperidad, y q^e no sientan novedad con el Comercio Español, seria conveniente, q^e por el tiempo a lo menos q^e pueden los extrangeros abordar en aquellos Puertos, se permitiese á los Registros de España para aquellos destinos, y en quanto á la tercera parte de la cargazón q^e se haia de consumir en dhos parages, que pudiesen embarcar, Loza, Jabon de piedra, Frutos en Aguardiente, Brin, Limbours, Mantas, Vino de Burdeos, y otras muchas cosas q^e hay muy propias y al gusto de aquellos Naturales, y esto aunque fuere de fabrica estrangera, con obligacion empero, q^e hallandose Frutos ó Generos de los sobre dhos en nuestra Peninsula, la tercera parte a lo menos de los q^e se embarcaren hayan de ser de ellos, bajo pena de prohibirse al cargador de cargar parte ni porcion de dhas cosas de fabrica extrangera, y á fin de impedir los Contrabandos ó Fraudes, q^e pueden hazerse antes de permitirse embarcar dhos Generos, debe hazer constar el Cargador, ó q^e no se fabrican ni los hay en nuestros Reinos, ó q^e cumple con dha condicion, acompañando Certificacion jurada del Fabricante, y autorizada por el Consulado, (en caso de haverlo en la Provincia) y en su defecto por el Ministro R^l mas inmediato á la Fabrica ó Pahis donde se há cogido el Fruto; de q^e el Genero ó fruto q^e se embarca es de su Fabrica ó Cosecha.

Asi mismo como el Comercio de la mayor parte de los Vecinos de aquellos Pahizes de Luisiana y ambas Floridas sea el de la caza por la Peleteria, nos parece q^e deberia permitirse, q^e en la parte de carga destinada para alli pudiesen embarcarse Armas de Fuego y Blancas, por ser el articulo mas apreciable p^a aquellos Pahizes, y el q^e mas necesitan los habitantes para seguir su dho ramo de industria, y no dudamos q^e de la prohibicion, q^e en el dia hay en España de embiar Armas, saben bien aprovecharse las Naciones extrangeras, maiormente las q^e tienen el Comercio abierto con Luisiana y Floridas; y q^e sin embargo de las ordenes de S.M. tienen aquellos naturales tantas armas como quieren y necesitan.

the value of the goods but by tonnage, since the trade that is at present possible in those provinces does not permit of the circulation or consumption of articles of luxury or of great value. And in order that the inhabitants of Louisiana and both Floridas may be convinced that his Majesty's sovereign intentions are directed toward increasing their prosperity, and in order that they may not notice the change with the advent of Spanish commerce, it would be advisable, at least so long as foreigners can put into those ports, that this be permitted to ships registered from Spain bound to those destinations; and with regard to the one-third part of their cargo which must be consumed in the said places, that they be allowed to carry the chinaware, Castile soap, brandied fruits, saffron, Limburgs, blankets, Bordeaux wines, and many other articles which are very well suited to those natives and very well liked by them. This should be permitted although these articles are of foreign manufacture, but upon strict condition that, if the above mentioned products or articles can be obtained in our peninsula, at least one-third of those that are in the cargo shall consist thereof, under penalty of prohibiting the shipper from loading any part whatever of said goods of foreign manufacture. And in order to prevent smuggling or frauds, which can be carried on before permission is given to carry the said goods, the shipper must show either that they are not manufactured nor exist in our kingdoms, or else that he has complied with the said obligation, submitting a certificate sworn to by the manufacturer and authenticated by the tribunal of commerce (if one exists in the province, and if not, then by the royal official nearest to the factory or country where the article has been obtained), to the effect that the goods or produce embarked are of its manufacture or growth.

Likewise, since the chief occupation of the people of those countries of Louisiana and the two Floridas is hunting for peltry,⁶⁵ it seems to us that it should be permitted that firearms and steel arms might be embarked in that part of the cargo destined for those places, since these articles are the most valuable in those countries and the most needed by the inhabitants in order that they may engage in the branch of industry aforesaid [*i.e.*, fur trade]. And we have no doubt that foreign nations, especially those which can trade openly with Louisiana and the Floridas, know how to take full advantage of the existing prohibition of the shipment of arms from Spain; and that, notwithstanding his Majesty's orders, those natives have as many weapons as they want and need.

Ultimamente, yá q^e los Dros de Entrada en España de los generos de primera necesidad, q^e no tenemos, como Lenceria y la maior parte de la Quincalleria, son ventajas para el Contrabando, pues quanto mas pagan, tanta mas proporcion tienen los extrangeros de proveér aquellos Pahizes á precios mas comodoss q^e los Españoles, no teniendo ellos mas coste q^e el primitivo, quando nosotros a más de él, y ahunque el Cargador p^a America los mande venir de su Cuenta, lo q^e menos tienen un aumento de 25 por ciento; juzgamos muy conveniente que á los Cargadores de estos Artefactos de precisa necesidad, de que no hay Fabrica en España, p^a remitirlos á los Puertos de Luisiana y Floridas, se les reintegrasen á su salida de estos Reynos el todo, ó a lo menos parte de los Dros de Aduana que hubiesen adeudado en su introduccion al Reino; para que de este modo se pribase á los Estrangeros de los crecidos beneficios q^e logran en la introduccion de dhos articulos, y que les dán motibo para seguir el contrabando sobre otros generos; en grave perjuicio de los Españoles, y de su Comercio.

V.S. resolverá lo que juzgare mas acertado. Barcelona 19 de Junio de 1788.

D^N MELCHOR DE GUARDIA.

JOSEPH FRAN^{CO} DE DURÁN.

JPH FRAN^{CO} SAGUI.

PABLO PUIGURIGUER.

FRAN^{CO} CAPALÁ Y VIDAL.

[*Rubricados*]

X. DISCURSO POR JOSÉ SALCEDO SOBRE LA CESIÓN DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL Á LOS INGLESES.

San Ildefonso, 20 de Agosto de 1788

[Pág. 1]

†

Reservado.

Discurso sobre cesion de la Florida Oriental á los Ingleses.

Padece qualquiera Estado, á manera del cuerpo humano, las enfermedades politicas de extenuacion y plenitud. La adquisicion oportuna de un Reyno ó Provincia fertil, ocupada por crecido numero de habitantes industrioss y bien condicionados, es capaz de curarlo radicalmente de la primera dolencia; y el [pág. 2] aban-

Finally, since the import duties in Spain on articles of prime necessity that we do not produce, such as linen goods and most hardware, are incitements to smuggling, for the higher the duties, the easier it is for foreigners to supply those countries at more advantageous prices than the Spaniards, as they have to pay only the original purchase price, while we have to pay more than that (and even though the shipper to America orders these articles on his own account, they have an increase of at least twenty-five per cent), we consider it highly advisable that the shippers of these indispensable manufactured goods, for which there are no factories in Spain, be allowed a drawback upon the re-exportation of these goods from these kingdoms to Louisiana and the Floridas, this drawback to amount to the whole or at least part of the import duties paid upon their introduction into Spain, so that in this way foreigners may be deprived of the great advantages which they enjoy in the importation of those articles and which give them an incentive to extend their contraband trade to other goods, to the serious hurt of the Spaniards and of their commerce.

Your Lordship will determine what he thinks best. Barcelona, June 19, 1788.

DON MELCHOR DE GUARDIA.

JOSEPH FRANCISCO DE DURÁN.

JOSEPH FRANCISCO SAGUI.

PABLO PUIGURIGUER.

FRANCISCO CAPALÁ Y VIDAL.

[*Rubrics*]

X. DISCOURSE BY JOSÉ SALCEDO RELATIVE TO THE CESSION OF EAST FLORIDA TO THE ENGLISH.⁶⁶

San Ildefonso, August 20, 1788

[P. 1]

†

Discourse relative to cession of East Florida to the English.

Confidential.

Like the human body, states suffer from the political infirmities of anaemia and plethora. The opportune acquisition of a kingdom or a province that is fertile and occupied by a large number of industrious and prosperous inhabitants can cure the state completely of the first complaint; and the [p. 2] surrender or well

dóno ó cesion bien preparada de otra Posesion esteril con pocos habitantes y sospechosos, en cuya conservacion emplea el Estado trabajosa é infructuosam^{te} sus jugos, contribuirá mucho á mejorarlo de la segunda. De aqui es, que no se mostrará mas grande ni mas util á la Patria el Ministro que en tiempo de guerra dedique todas sus meditaciones y calculos á la bien convinada empresa de una conquista importante, que quando en el de paz se emplée en discurrir medios para deshacerse con ventajas de qualquiera Provincia que, sobre no ser capaz de cooperar á la seguridad de las demás, se absorva en si misma una gran parte de las rentas del Estado: que ocúpe en su conservacion y defensa muchos hombres: que nada le rinda, y que por todos titulos le sea perjudicial.

Tal es la Provincia y Presidio de Sⁿ Agustin de la Florida en sentir de muchos y del Oficial que habla, el qual se propone [pág. 3] provar en éste papel dos puntos: 1^o . . *que es mui conveniente á la España deshacerse de dha Provincia:* 2^o . . *que puede serle mui ventajoso cederla á los Ingleses.*

Punto 1^o

Sus Fortificaciones
malas é inútiles.

El castillo, con las demás obras de Fortificacion que le son adyacentes, sobre estar quasi arruinado á terminos de necesitarse mas de 50U pesos f^{tes} para su composicion (segun se deduce de calculo remitido p^r aquel Ingeniero Comandante) es del todo inutil; porque si su objeto es defender la Ciud^d por la parte de mar de las tentativas de embarcaciones estrangeras, y por la de tierra de los ataques de los Indios, en el primer caso parece excusado no habiendo Puerto donde dén fondo aquellas; y en el segundo bastaria una simple estacada para precaverse contra éstos. Tambien es inservible para la seguridad de la costa y de la Provincia, pues el conquistar ésta y tomar la Ciudad es [pág. 4] obra de quince dias para los Americanos segun el corto numero actual de sus defensores; sin que tampoco pueda prestar socorro ni defensa por tierra á alguna de nt^{ras} Posesiones de la Florida Occidental en el caso de ser atacada, por que la mucha distancia, la natural aspereza de los Montes Apalaches y la ninguna seguridad que puede fundarse en los Indios que los habitan imposibilitan del todo ésta operacion.

No tiene Puerto.

El que se llama *Puerto de Sⁿ Agustin* (no siendolo) admite unicamente pequeños Buques, los quales deven superar una barra peligrisima de solo 8 pies de fondo que cada dia se vá disminuyendo

prepared cession of some other possession which is sterile, whose inhabitants are few and suspect, and for whose preservation the state expends its resources laboriously and fruitlessly, will contribute greatly to the improvement of the second. Hence it is that a minister does not prove himself greater or more useful to his country when, in time of war, he devotes all his thoughts and calculations to the well coördinated undertaking of an important conquest than when, in time of peace, he occupies himself with contriving means whereby he may advantageously get rid of any province which, in addition to being incapable of contributing to the security of the others, absorbs a large part of the revenues of the state; which requires many men for its retention and defense; which yields it nothing; and which is in every respect harmful to it.

Such is the province and garrison of St. Augustine, Florida, in the opinion of many people, including the official who is speaking and who proposes [p. 3] to prove two points in this paper: 1st, *that it is very expedient that Spain should get rid of the said province*; 2nd, *that it may be very advantageous to her to cede it to the English.*

1st Point.

The fort, together with the other fortifications adjacent to it, besides being so dilapidated as to require more than 50,000 pesos for repairs (as appears from the estimate submitted by its engineer-commandant), is utterly useless; because, if its object is to defend the city in the direction of the sea from attacks by foreign vessels, and on the interior from Indian attacks, in the former case it seems superfluous since there is no port where such vessels can anchor, and in the latter case a simple stockade would afford enough protection against those people. Likewise it contributes nothing to the security of the coast and of the province; for, it would be the [p. 4] work of only a fortnight for the Americans to conquer the province and capture the city, in view of the small number of its defenders at present. Nor could it lend aid or defense by land to any of our possessions in West Florida in case they should be attacked, because the great distance, the rugged nature of the Appalachian mountains⁶⁷ and the unreliability of the Indians who inhabit them render such an operation quite impossible.

Its fortifications
poor and useless.

What is called the *Port of St. Augustine* (though it is not one) admits only small boats, which have to cross a most dangerous bar, where there is a depth of only eight feet which is daily growing less

It has no port.

y en que han naufragado infinitos. El Oficial exponente ha visto memorias que acreditan haver naufragado en ella y en el Canal desde el año de 63 ál de 83 mas de doscientas embarcaciones Inglesas entre grandes y chicas, y que desde este ultimo ultimo [*sic*] año ál de 87 pasarán de diez [pág. 5] las que hemos perdido nosotros, algunas de ellas con dinero, viveres, y tropas de relévo: en solo los años de 86 y 87 perdimos quatro de consideracion, y ademas un Bergantin que conducía á Sⁿ Agustin 30U p^s tres Oficiales y varios Soldados del Regim^{to} de Hivernia, sin que se salvase cosa alguna.

El Gobernador Céspedes há asegurado que llegará pronto el caso de que enteramente se inutilice y ciegue por si mismo éste Puerto, y que por lo propio será preciso dentro de poco situar la Poblacion á la embocadura del Rio Santa-Maria. Asi lo cree firmemente el exponente, pues el año de 1690 era su fondo 16 palmos, y hoi tiene solo 8 pies, que equivalen á 11 palmos no cabales: de modo, que continuando la disminucion en una progresion ordenada se saca por regla de proporcion simple que antes de 30, ó 40 años quedará inutil aun para Barcos pequeños y Lanchas. [pág. 6] ¿Y de qué servirán entonces sus Fortificaciones?

Por lo que hace á los surgideros que ésta Provincia tiene sobre la parte de costa que mira ál Seno Mexicano, llamados de *Juan Ponce de Leon*, *Carlota*, y *Tampa* ó *Bahia del Espiritu Santo*, son peores, de menos fondo ó mas expuestos á naufragios que los de la Costa Oriental: jamás tubieron en ellos los Ingleses establecimiento alguno, ni por alli se puede emprender tráfico ni empresa de ninguna especie, por que el banco que corre por quasi toda la Costa no permite que se acerquen á ella ni aun lanchas y botes pequeños.

No siendo pues la barra de Sⁿ Agustin capaz de Buques de porte, y hallandose situada además en parage que hace su salida y entrada mui difícil y arriesgada, se sigue que nunca se podrá desde aquel punto impedir el contrabando, interceptar un convoi ni hacer el corso en tpo de guerra.

[Pág. 7] Estas solas razones, q^e desde la ocupacion de dño Presidio fueron y serán siempre subsistentes, y el corto fondo de 16 palmos que tenia su Barra, mobieron el citado año de 1690 ál Virrey de Mexico Conde de Galve á solicitar de la Corte su abandono: y aunque la Junta de guerra de Indias conoció los graves fundam^{tos} de la propuesta, no tubo efecto, acaso por las esperanzas que el Señor Carlos II habia concebido de propagar nuestra Religion p^r aquella

No se puede
impedir desde él
el contrabando ni
hacer el corso.

and where there have been innumerable shipwrecks. The present writer has seen memorials which affirm that from the year 1763 to that of 1783 more than two hundred English vessels, large and small, were wrecked on the bar and in the channel, and that from the latter year to that of 1787 the number [p. 5] that we have lost is more than ten, some of which carried money, provisions, and relief troops. In the years 1786 and 1787 alone we lost four important ships, besides a brigantine that was bringing to St. Augustine 30,000 pesos, three officers, and several soldiers of the Irish Regiment, and not a thing was saved.

Governor Céspedes has declared that the time will soon come when this port will be closed and will be utterly useless, and that for this reason it will be necessary in a short time to transfer the town to the mouth of the St. Marys River. The present writer firmly believes that this is so, for in the year 1690 its depth was sixteen spans, whereas today it is only eight feet, which is equal to approximately eleven spans; so that, if the diminution continues at a regular rate, we find by a rule of simple proportion that within thirty or forty years it will be useless even for small boats and launches. [p. 6] And then what will be the good of its fortifications?

As for the anchoring-places in this province on that part of the coast which faces the gulf of Mexico, called *Juan Ponce de León*, *Carlota*, and *Tampa* or *Bahía del Espíritu Santo*,⁶⁸ they are worse, of less depth or are more exposed to shipwreck than those of the East Coast. The English never had any settlements there, nor can any trade or enterprise of any kind be undertaken in that quarter, for the shoals that extend along almost the full length of the coast prevent even launches and small rowboats from approaching it.

Therefore, since the bar of St. Augustine does not admit ships of large size and since moreover it is situated in a region that makes both entry and departure very difficult and dangerous, it follows that it will never be possible to prevent contraband trade from that point, intercept a convoy, or carry on privateering in time of war.

[P. 7] These reasons alone, which have existed ever since the occupation of the said presidio and will always continue to exist, and the fact that there were only sixteen spans of water over its bar, led the viceroy of Mexico, Count Galve, to ask the court in 1690 to abandon it. Although the council of war of the Indies was aware of the weighty considerations in favor of the proposal, it was not carried out, perhaps because of the hope entertained by Charles II.

Neither can smuggling be prevented nor privateering be carried on from it.

No es de utilidad
para propagar la
Religion.

parte; pero eran ya entonces muchos y mui costosos los exemplares que habia y que lastimosamente se han repetido desde la citada época de que los Indios de aquel continente son tan crueles como incapaces de reducirse á la verdadera creencia, y que solo afectan una momentanea docilidad á la persuasion quando esta vá acompañada de las dadivas. Se atreve el exponente á aventurar la asercion de que desde el año de 1528 en que Panfilo de [pág. 8] Narvaez puso el pie en la Costa de la Florida Occidental con cerca de 800 hombres de desembarco y bastantes Misioneros no se há dado el caso de que un solo Indio Floridano se haya convertido de veras y mantenido con constancia hasta su muerte en la Religion Catolica.

Sus habitantes
despreciables por
su calidad y corto
numero.

Los habitantes de ésta Provincia apenas llegarán á 900 Blancos de ambos generos, entre los quales hai Isleños, Floridanos, Menorquines, Italianos, Griegos y Britanicos, todos pobres y perezosos: los restantes 490 hasta el numº de 1390, de que se componia en Mayo de 87 el total de personas de todas edades y colores, son esclavos endebles y miserables que solo sirven ál cultivo de algunas plantaciones de corta entidad que poseen seis u ocho Colonos Ingleses. Puede deducirse de aqui que éste numero de gente es incapaz é insuficiente para hacer producir ál terreno ni aún los alimentos de primera necesid^d [pág. 9] para su subsistencia y de la Guarnicion, y que por lo mismo deve mirarse y computarse Sⁿ Agustin como un verdadero Presidio á donde es preciso llevarlo todo de fuera y que nada rinde.

Sus producciones,
frutos y Ganados
quasi ningunos.

Por mas que se quiera exagerar la cantidad y calidad de sus producciones y frutos se sabe por el mismo Céspedes que éstos están reducidos á maderas de mediana calidad: cera de mirto en corta cantidad: de abejas cojida con bastante trabájo: algunas plantas medicinales de las que abundan en las Islas: pescado: brea y terebentina; siendo mui cierto tambien, que á pesar de la industria que emplearon los Ingleses interin poseyeron ésta Provincia solo sacaron de ella algunas cantidades de brea. Añade el citado Gobernador que es capaz de producir con el tiempo arroz, añil, azucar, algodón, cañamo, y cochinilla; mas como la tierra no dá ni puede dar por si sola estos ultimos frutos [pág. 10] sin el auxilio de muchas manos, ganados y bestias q^e no hai en la Provincia, se ha propuesto ál Rey por el proprio Gefe que se envíen á ella para su fomento familias Europeas Españolas y Americanas catolicas, las quales deverán gozar muchas franquicias, cierta libertad perjudicial de comercio

of propagating our religion in that quarter.⁶⁹ But there had already occurred at that time many very costly instances, which have unfortunately been multiplied since that day, to show that the Indians of that continent are as cruel as they are incapable of being converted to genuine faith, and that they only pretend a brief compliance to persuasion when it is accompanied by gifts. The present writer dares to venture the assertion that since the year 1528, when Pánfilo de [p. 8] Narváez first set foot on the coast of West Florida with about 800 men and a number of missionaries, there has never been a single instance of a Florida Indian being genuinely converted and remaining steadfast in the Catholic religion to the day of his death.⁷⁰

It is of no use for the propagation of religion.

The inhabitants of this province scarcely total 900 whites of both sexes,⁷¹ and among these are [Canary] Islanders, Floridians, Minorcans, Italians, Greeks, and Britons, all of them poor and lazy. The remaining 490 of its total population (which was 1390 in May, 1787, including persons of all ages and colors) are frail, miserable slaves whose only use is the cultivation of some plantations of small account owned by six or eight English colonists. Hence it may be concluded that this small number of people is unable and inadequate to make the soil yield even the foodstuffs of prime necessity [p. 9] for their subsistence and that of the garrison, and that consequently St. Augustine must be regarded and reckoned as a real presidio to which one must bring everything from without and which produces nothing.

Its inhabitants insignificant because of their quality and small number.

However much one might wish to overstate the quantity and quality of its products and fruits, we know through Céspedes⁷² himself that these are confined to wood of middling quality; myrtle-wax in small quantities; beeswax gathered with no little labor; some varieties of medicinal plants that abound in the islands; fish; pitch and turpentine. It is likewise very certain that, despite the efforts of the English while they possessed this province, all they got from it was some quantity of pitch. The above mentioned governor adds that it is capable of producing in the course of time rice, indigo, sugar, cotton, hemp, and cochineal; but, since the soil alone does not and cannot bring forth these last named products [p. 10] unaided by many hands, cattle, and beasts of burden, which do not exist in the province, it has been proposed to the king by the same governor that, in order to develop it, Catholic families from Europe, Spain, and America shall be sent thither, and that they shall enjoy many exemptions, a certain harmful freedom of trade, and

Its products, fruits and livestock insignificant.

y otras concesiones que las animen, sin cuya providencia afirma *que se irá deshaciendo aquella Colonia qual nieve*, en que no deve ponerse la menor duda, pues desde Octubre de 84 en que el numero de habitantes empadronados ascendia a 1994 hasta mayo de 87 en que por un nuevo padron se contaron solo 1390 se há disminuido la Colonia en 604 personas. Pero si las transmigraciones á las Americas de familias Españolas no fuesen tan destructivas ál Estado como ya se há experimentado, y hubiese otras estrangeras catolicas que bájo de partidos no abenturados quisiesen pasar á nuestras Posesiones, [pág. 11] ¿no seria mejor enviar unas y otras á las fertilisimas Islas de S^{to} Domingo y Puerto-Rico, llaves de Nuestra America septentrional y puntos principalisimos que conviene poblar, cubrir y conservar; y nó emplearlas en una Colonia inutil, de cortas producciones y dudosas, dificil o imposible de defenderse, sin Puerto y sin ventaja alguna? Son inmensos los terrenos que tiene el Rey en aquellos Dominios capaces de mejores producciones é incultos por falta de manos, y por la Convencion de Mosquitos es ahora S. M. dueño y poseedor de mas de treinta millones de fanegas de tierra en los distritos de aquella Costa, cultivables y á proposito para plantaciones de los mas ricos frutos.

Ningun comercio.

Dejase conocer por lo dicho que en Sⁿ Agustín no hai ni es posible que haya comercio alguno de ninguna especie con tan corto numero de gente que cada dia se disminuye y que no puede subsistir si no le llevan de fuera [pág. 12] hasta los alimentos de primera necesidad, siendo preciso las mas veces acudir por ellos á las Colonias Americanas, por que su situacion no permite y aun en ocasiones imposibilita el conducirlos de la Havana.

Los efectos y manufacturas que compran los Indios de la Provincia ó que cambian por peletería son de corto valor y los provee una Casa Inglesa de comercio, llamada de Panton, la qual saca toda la utilidad que produce éste cámbio. Si en lugar de permitir á ésta casa que provea á los Indios de dhos efectos hiciese el Rey de su cuenta ésta negociacion, cuyo partido parece que se há adoptado ultimamente por el Ministerio para evitar el contrabando y los monopolios que antes eran consiguientes, ninguna utilidad y sí mucha perdida sacará S. M. de éste tráfico, pues para dirigirlo y entretenerlo con los Indios habrán de nombrarse sujetos, como hizo

other concessions to encourage them. Without this measure, he says, *that colony will continue to melt away like snow*, of which there is not the least doubt, for from October, 1784, when the number of enrolled inhabitants reached 1994 according to the census, until May, 1787, when a new census showed only 1390, the colony lost 604 inhabitants. But even if the emigration of Spanish families to the Americas were not so disastrous to the state as experience has shown it to be, and if other families of foreign Catholics were available, who were willing to remove to our possessions under not too hazardous conditions, [p. 11] would it not be better to send both the former and the latter to the very fertile islands of Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico, the keys to our North American dominions and the principal points which it is expedient to settle, protect, and preserve, and not to employ them in a colony which is useless, produces little and that little uncertainly, is difficult or impossible to defend, and lacks a port or any advantage whatever? The king has a vast quantity of land in those dominions which is capable of better production and which is still uncultivated for want of a labor supply. By the Mosquito Convention,⁷³ his Majesty is now master and owner of more than thirty million *fanegas* of land in the neighborhood of that coast, land that is cultivable and suitable for plantations of the richest fruits.

From what has been said it is evident that in St. Augustine there is not and cannot be any commerce of any kind with so small and constantly diminishing a number of people, and who cannot exist without the importation from abroad [p. 12] of even foodstuffs of prime necessity. It is generally necessary to repair to the American colonies [*i.e.*, the United States] for these, because its situation does not permit the bringing of them from Havana, and indeed sometimes renders it impossible.

No commerce.

The goods and manufactures bought by the Indians of the province or taken in exchange by them for peltry are of small value and are provided by an English commercial house called Pantón's, which absorbs all of the profit arising from this exchange. If instead of permitting this house to supply the Indians with the said goods the king should carry on this business on his own account (which is the means that appears to have been adopted recently by the ministry in order to prevent smuggling and monopolies that previously developed), his Majesty would derive no profit and would suffer great loss by this trade for, in order to direct and maintain it with the Indians, persons would have to be appointed,

la Corte de Francia bien á su costa quando [pág. 13] poseía la Luisiana, que con sus sueldos y talvez con sus malversaciones y descuidos (mui comunes en la administracion Real) se absorverán el liquido producto de las ventas ó cambios: y ultimamente, ésta provision de efectos á los Indios nunca merecerá el nombre de comercio.

El Gobernador Céspedes propuso ál Rey que en la Isla Amalia a Amilla, por ser abundante de Maderas y contener un Puertecito ó Surgidero á la embocadura del Rio Santa Maria (vease el Plano 2º) se construyese una Ciudad con Pobladores europeos y tres Fortificaciones que cruzando sus fuegos resguardasen y defendiesen la Ciudad y Puerto, con el auxilio tambien de una Fragata de guerra y dos Galeras armadas. Pero S. M. á consulta de una Junta de Generales mandó que solo se pusiese en dha Isla una Vigía con un Cabo-torrero y quatro hombres para mantener la formal posesion de aquel puesto: [pág. 14] providencia mui acertada, pues no hai sistema mas perjudicial y ruinoso que el de multiplicar los puntos de defensa y las Fortificaciones de Indias en los parages que no son principales, de que se siguen crecidos gastos inutilés á la R^l hacienda y el devilitar las Guarniciones de las Plazas ó puestos que verdaderamente cubren las Provincias.

Quedan pues tocados aunque ligeramente los puntos que hacen conocer la inutilidad de ésta Provincia respecto á nosotros: veamos ahora los perjuicios que nos produce su conservacion en tiempo de paz y de guerra.

Su dotacion
exorbitante.

Aun no se halla arreglada su dotacion anual, pero el Gobernador Céspedes há indicado que para atender á todos sus gastos, incluso los de Pobladores y regalos á Indios, se necesitará en tiempo de paz la de 230U pesos. Acaso no será bastante, especialmente si se crea un Batallon fixo que pretende para guarnecerla y se aumentan varios [pág. 15] empleos politicos, militares, y eclesiasticos que ha propuesto, deviendo suponerse tambien que en ésta regulacion no se comprenden los buques, dinero y gente q^e provablemente han de perderse. Considerese pues quanto será el gasto que ocasionará este Presidio en tiempo de guerra en q^e han de duplicarse los socorros, la Guarnicion y las defensas de mar y tierra, y se deducirá, que atendida su situacion y los embarazos de buques enemigos y otros obstaculos que regularmente se encontrarán en el Canal, apenas llegará una Embarcacion á aquella barra de cada diez que se des-tinen á este objeto: deviendo tambien inferirse quan embarazoso

as the court of France did at considerable expense when [p. 13] it possessed Louisiana, who, by their salaries and perhaps by malversation and negligence (which are very common in the royal administration), would absorb the net proceeds of sales and exchanges. Finally, this supplying goods to the Indians will never deserve the name of commerce.

Governor Céspedes proposed to the king that on Amalia or Amilla Island, since it contains an abundance of timber and has a small port or roadstead at the mouth of St. Marys River (see Plan No. 2),⁷⁴ a city should be constructed, with European settlers and three fortifications which by crossing their fire would protect and defend the city and the port, together with the aid of a frigate of war and two armed galleys. But his Majesty, after consulting a board composed of generals, ordered that there should only be placed on that island a watch consisting of a corporal and four men, in order to maintain formal possession of that post. [p. 14] A very wise measure this was, for there is no system more harmful and ruinous than that of multiplying the points of defense and fortifications in the Indies in localities that are not vital.⁷⁵ Thence arise great but useless drains upon the royal treasury, and the weakening of the garrisons of forts and posts that really cover the provinces.

We have then touched, although lightly, upon the points that prove the uselessness of this province for our purposes. Now let us see the injury that its retention causes us in time of peace and of war.

Although its annual dotation⁷⁶ has not yet been fixed, Governor Céspedes has indicated that in order to cover all expenses, including those of immigration and presents for the Indians, it will require 230,000 pesos in time of peace. Perhaps this will not be enough, especially if, as he represents, a fixed battalion be created to garrison it, and if we add the various [p. 15] political, military, and ecclesiastical offices which he has proposed. It is also to be supposed that in this sum the ships, money, and people that will probably be lost are not included. Consider then what will be the expense that this presidio will occasion in time of war, when the succours, the garrison, and the defenses by land and sea will have to be doubled, and it will be found that, in view of its location and the obstructions of hostile ships and other obstacles that are ordinarily encountered in the channel, hardly one vessel will reach that bar out of every ten that are sent thither for that purpose. It must

Its dotation
exorbitant.

Su conservacion
costosísima
en tiempo de paz:
y en el de guerra
mui dudosa y
embarazosa.

será para la Havana el tener que atender á la conservacion de una inutil, pobre, y despoblada Colonia con gente, artilleria, y dinero en perjuicio de las indispensables defensas de aquella Plaza é Isla, disminucion de su Guarnicion y aumento considerable de los gastos [pág. 16] de la guerra. ¿Y serán entonces suficientes éstos esfuerzos, con atencion á lo q^e va dicho y á hallarse quasi rodeada de Islas enemigas, para mantenerla bájo nuestro dominio? ¿Y en caso que asi se consiguiese, en fuerza tambien de costosas inteligencias con los Indios, compensaria su conservacion el cuidado, perjuicios y quantiosos dispendios q^e habria ocasionada?

De ningun per-
juicio para nosotros
en poder de qual-
quiera Potencia
exceptuados los
Americanos.

Parece pues que semejante Provincia ademas de inutil será perjudicialísima á la España si ha de mantenerse bájo su dominio, y que si por una cesion pasase ál de qualquiera Potencia estrangera (exceptuados los Estados Americanos á quienes se deve rehusar en quanto sea posible la concesion de un solo pie de terreno) ningun perjuicio nos resultaria, pues los defectos locales de ella yá mencionadas, que no permiten intentar empresa alguna desde aquel punto, y la precabida natural situacion de n^{ras} posesiones con respecto á su inmediacion, las pone á cubierto de todo [pág. 17] insulto y fuera de recelo de qualquiera atáque.

Con que si quedan bien provadas las aserciones que ligeramente se han apuntado como causas fundamentales del pensamiento del exponente y se hace una breve recopilacion de ellas, resulta: „que „el Presidio y Provincia de Sⁿ Agustin tiene unas Fortificaciones „malas, inutilés, y de mui costoso entretenimiento: que lo que se „llama Puerto es solo una barra peligrosísima de fondo mui corto y „perecedero: que no se puede interceptar ni impedir desde ella el „contrabando ni hacer el corso: que de nada sirve su establecimiento „para propagar la verdadera Religion ni para coadyuvar á la „conservacion y defensa de las Provincias inmediatas: que sus habi- „tantes son despreciables por su calidad y cortísimo numero: que „no tiene ganados: que sus producciones y frutos no merecen la „menor consideracion: que no es capaz de comercio alguno: que „ningun cuidado [pág. 18] influye el que la posea qualquiera otra „Potencia: y por ultimo, que es inutil bájo todos aspectos ál Es- „tado, y embarazosa, mui costosa, arriesgada y perjudicialísima „su conservacion:” Luego *es mui conveniente á la España deshacerse de ella*: que es el primer punto.

also be supposed that it will be very troublesome for Havana to have to attend to the defense of a useless, poor, and depopulated colony with men, artillery, and money, to the detriment of the indispensable defenses of that city and island, reducing its garrison and increasing considerably the cost [p. 16] of the war. And even then, in view of what has been said and of the fact that it is almost surrounded by hostile islands, will these efforts be sufficient to maintain it under our possession? And in case this should be accomplished, by virtue furthermore of expensive understandings with the Indians, would its retention repay the care, damage, and numerous expenses that it would have occasioned?

It appears then that such a province, besides being useless, will be most injurious to Spain if it is to remain under its dominion, and that if it should pass by cession to any other power whatever (except the American States, to which we should refuse, as far as possible, the concession of a single foot of ground), no harm would result to us, since the defects of its location, which have already been mentioned and which do not permit any enterprise to be undertaken from that point, and the naturally protected situation of our possessions with respect to it, remove the danger of any [p. 17] insult and of any attack upon them.

Therefore, if the assertions which have been briefly outlined as fundamental reasons for the present writer's thought have been fully proved, and if a brief summary of them is made, it follows: "that the presidio and province of St. Augustine possess a few poor and useless fortifications which are very expensive to maintain; that what is called a port is only a very dangerous bar and the water is very shallow and of diminishing depth; that it is impossible to intercept or prevent contraband from it, or to carry on privateering; that its settlement contributes nothing to the propagation of the true religion or to aid in the retention and defense of the neighboring provinces; that its inhabitants are insignificant because of their quality and very small numbers; that they have no livestock; that its products and fruits do not deserve the least consideration; that it is not capable of any commerce whatever; that [p. 18] its possession by any other power would not cause anxiety; and finally that it is in every respect useless and troublesome to the state, and its retention is very expensive, very hazardous and very injurious." So *it is very expedient that Spain should get rid of it*: that constitutes the first point.

Its retention very expensive in time of peace; and in war time very dubious and troublesome.

Not harmful to us in the possession of any other power except that of the Americans.

Punto 2º

Mui corto seria el partido que pudiera sacarse de qualesquiera Potencias de Europa en cambio de la Prov^a de S^a Agustín, atendido su corto valor absoluto, la falta de proporciones para el comercio, y que para negociar su adquisicion solo serian estimuladas del objeto de aprovecharse de los frutos tales quales que produce por medio de colonias que podrian establecer en ella. No sucede asi con los Ingleses, pues sin embargo de conocer por experiencia igualmente que nosotros la inutilidad de dha Provincia concurren en estos varias circunstancias que se la [pág. 19] harian apetecible. Estas mismas circunstancias, q^e respecto á ellos hacen crecer considerablemente el valor de aquella Posesion, no solo contribuirían á perfeccionar una negociacion ventajosa con ésta Potencia en preferencia de las otras, mas tambien producirian con el tiempo unas consecuencias mui importantes á la España que acaso coadyuvarían indirectamente á la conservacion de la Luisiana y del Reyno de Mexico.

Pocas y mui pasageras serán las reflexiones politicas que el exponente haga en éste punto, y solo indicará las suficientes á excitar sobre él la consideracion sabia del Ministerio, el qual con sus superiores luces y mayor discernimiento, despreciando las que sean frivolas ó poco fundadas y adelantando ó perfeccionando las que merezcan algun aprecio, consultará á S. M. la determinacion que pueda ser mas conveniente [pág. 20] á su servicio.

Los actuales ocultos proyectos de los Estados Americanos devemos suponer que se dirigen á aprovechar qualquiera coyuntura ú ocasion favorable de apoderarse de la Luisiana, no solo con el objeto de poseerla y utilizarse de los ricos frutos q^e produce; mas tambien y mas principalmente para dar libre salida por el Seno Mexicano á éstos y á los de las Provincias contiguas ál Misisipi y ál Ohio.

Devemos suponer tambⁿ que facilitada en su imaginacion ésta empresa se adelantarian sus ideas á la de extenderse ál Reyno de Mexico, y no hai duda que conseguida la primera resultaba mas asequible la segunda.

La[s] diversas y numerosas naciones que, admitidas yá en cierto modo bájo la proteccion de los Estados generales, habitan en el Kentucky y otras Provincias del norte confinantes con el Misisipi:

2nd Point.

Very small would be the benefit that could be obtained from any European power in exchange for the province of St. Augustine, in view of its low absolute value, the lack of facilities for commerce, and the fact that their only incentive for seeking to acquire it would be to avail themselves, by means of colonies that they might establish there, of such fruits as it produces. This is not the case with the English, for notwithstanding that they know by experience, as well as do we, the uselessness of the province aforesaid, yet several circumstances combine [p. 19] to make it desirable to them. These circumstances, which give that possession considerably more value to them, would not only contribute to the completion of an advantageous negotiation with that power in preference to the others, but in time they would also produce consequences of great importance to Spain, which would perhaps aid indirectly in preserving Louisiana and the kingdom of Mexico.

Few and quite incidental will be the present writer's political reflections on this point, and he will only suggest enough to recommend it to the wise consideration of the ministry, which with its superior intelligence and greater discernment, ignoring what is frivolous and of little foundation, and advancing or perfecting what deserves some measure of approbation, will recommend to his Majesty the decision that may be most expedient [p. 20] for his service.

The present hidden designs of the American states are directed, we must suppose, toward taking advantage of any favorable opportunity or occasion to seize Louisiana, not only with the object of holding it and enjoying the rich products originating there, but also and more especially to obtain a free outlet by way of the gulf of Mexico for themselves and the people of the provinces bordering upon the Mississippi and the Ohio.

We must also suppose that, once they have imagined the accomplishment of this undertaking, their ideas would proceed to the extension of their possessions to the kingdom of Mexico;⁷⁷ and there is no doubt that, if the first were achieved, the second would be more attainable.

The divers and numerous nations⁷⁸ already after a fashion admitted under the protection of the Estates General [*i.e.*, the United States] which inhabit Kentucky and other northern provinces bor-

los habitantes del supuesto Condado de Borbón, y sus colindantes nos han amenazado [pág. 21] publicamente con que atacarán el Fuerte de Natchez, que se harán dueños de la Luisiana y se abrirán por si mismos y á fuerza de armas la puerta á la navegacion del Misisipi si los Estados consienten en que la España quéde con las llaves de ella. Estas amenazas, aun quando nos hayan parecido impracticables en la actualidad por que los Estados no las apoyan, no han dejado de alarmarnos y dar motibo á grandes gastos y preparativos de defensa; y para precabernos en parte de sus temidos efectos hemos entablado con sigilo y se hallan pendientes algunas prudentes aunque costosas negociaciones con los habitantes del Kentucky y sus vecinos para atraerlos á nuestras posesiones en calidad de Pobladores, y hacer de éstos simulados amigos una barrera de defensores de ellas. Pero es preciso confesar que tales habitantes y sus colindantes, que han crecido hasta un prodigioso numero, exasperados un dia [pág. 22] por la falta de proporciones para dar salida á sus frutos; ó descontentos por los derechos y condiciones con que se les permita extraerlos, ó disgustados finalmente por qualquiera otro motibo que ocultamente podran abultar y proteger los mismos Estados con auxilios secretos aun en tiempo de paz; si éste exorbitante numero de habitantes (se repite) gobernado y dirigido por Americanos hábiles, poseedores de tierras y que sirvieron en la ultima guerra, llegáse á realizar el proyecto de atacar la Nueva Orleans y la tentativa de conquistar la Luisiana, ¿qué fuerzas nuestras hai ni puede haber en ella para resistir tan terrible invasion? Todas las tropas que tenemos en aquella Provincia, en el Reyno de Mexico y la Ha[va]na no serian suficientes para contrarrestarla. Bien pronto se extenderian, á manera de inundacion, por todas partes: pasarian el [pág. 23] Misisipi: por la Provincia de Texas se internarian ál Reyno de Mexico: se coligarian acaso con los Indios de las Provincias internas, y quando de resultas de éstos primeros pasos no consiguiesen otra cosa que introducir el terror y la consternacion en aquellas comarcas talvez con el tiempo hallarian mejores proporciones de adelantarlos desde algun establecimiento en que pudiesen fixarse y desde donde entre tanto harian un inextinguible contrabando.

No há tocado el exponente éstas especies con otro objeto que el de hacer ver, que segun el actual estado de las cosas la Provincia de la Luisiana, antemural del Reyno de Mexico, no há de conser-

dering upon the Mississippi, together with the inhabitants of the supposititious County of Bourbon,⁷⁹ and their neighbors, have warned us [p. 21] publicly that they are going to attack the fort of Natchez, make themselves masters of Louisiana, and, by their own efforts and by force of arms, open the door to the navigation of the Mississippi if the [United] States agree to let Spain keep the keys to it. These threats, although they may have seemed impracticable to us at present because the [United] States do not support them, have not failed to alarm us and to cause great expenditures and preparations for defense; and in order to protect ourselves in part from the results apprehended, we have opened secretly and have pending some prudent though expensive negotiations with the inhabitants of Kentucky and their neighbors, with the object of attracting them to our possessions as immigrants and of constructing a defensive barrier out of these pretended friends.⁸⁰ But it must be admitted that such residents and their neighbors, who have increased to a prodigious number, if they are exasperated some day [p. 22] by the lack of facilities for marketing their produce, or are discontented because of the duties and restrictions imposed upon their exportation, or finally are dissatisfied for any reason whatever (which the same [United] States can magnify and foster by secret instigation even in time of peace); if (to repeat) this excessive number of inhabitants, governed and directed by adroit Americans, landowners and veterans of the recent war, should carry out the project of attacking New Orleans and the attempt to conquer Louisiana, what forces of ours are there or could there be in that province to resist so terrible an invasion? All the troops we have there and in the kingdom of Mexico and at Havana would not be enough to stop them. Soon they would extend everywhere, like a flood. They would cross the [p. 23] Mississippi. By the province of Texas they would penetrate into the kingdom of Mexico. Perhaps they would league themselves with the Indians of the *Provincias Internas*,⁸¹ and even if they accomplished nothing more by these first steps than to spread terror and consternation in those borders, perhaps they might in time find better opportunities for advance from some settlement where they might establish themselves and whence they could meanwhile carry on irrepressible smuggling.

The present writer has mentioned these matters with no other object than to show that, in the present state of affairs, the province of Louisiana, bulwark of the kingdom of Mexico, is not to be

varse á fuerza de armas y de defensas militares q^e no puede mantener; sino por efecto de negociaciones bien convinadas para poblarla: de estratagemas disimuladas y prudentem^{te} [pág. 24] seguidas; y, si la ocasion lo pidiese, de ocultas inteligencias y disensiones suscitadas oportunamente entre los Indios.

Si los Ingleses llegasen á ser limitrofes de los Americanos por la Florida Oriental, en virtud de la cesion que pudieramos hacerles de ésta Provincia, puede quasi asegurarse que sobre la rivalidad de rayanos obraria entre ellos el ódio de conquistadores y reveldes, y bájo de ambos respetos se mantendrian siempre vivos el rencor y la sospecha. Asi sucede por la parte del Canadá, en donde sin atención á las reclamaciones de los Americanos conservan los Ingleses algunos Fuertes y terrenos que les cedieron por el ultimo tratado de paz. Estos ultimos, que acaso no han renunciado aún á la recuperacion de la America septentrional, se extenderian en la Florida Oriental por la margen meridional del Rio [pág. 25] Sta Maria que forma limites con los Estados: Como su navegacion es libre á los habitantes de ambas Orillas se pasarian bien pronto, segun su costumbre, á la septentrional para cortar maderas: lo mismo harian internandose en la Georgia, y estas pequeñas infracciones (que provablemente serian reciprocas) remediadas unas veces y sostenidas otras por los respectivos Ministerios, irian produciendo el infalible efecto de hacerse entre si odiosos y sospechosos, y de mantenerse en continuas disputas y disensiones costosas. Por lo que respecta á nosotros sacariamos las ventajas que eran consiguientes á haber colocado á nuestros enemigos en un parage desde donde no solo no podrian hacernos perjuicio; mas ál contrario distraerían y dividirían las atenciones y fuerzas de los Americanos, imposibilitandoles ó alejandoles las ideas de conspirar contra la Luisiana, [pág. 26] mayormente si los Ingleses confinantes con ellos por el Canadá continuaban, segun devia esperarse, observando igual conducta. Algunas veces nos harían, como superiores en aquellos Dominios, mediadores y garantes en sus competencias, y de consiguiente nos conservarian alli ambas naciones cierta dependencia que por entonces y por largo tiempo nos asegurase de las tentativas de los Americanos.

Se cree mui ventajoso ceder dha Provincia á los Ingleses con

Tal es el modo de pensar del exponente, y tales las reflexiones que le hacen mirar como mui ventajosa la cesion de la citada Provincia á los Ingleses con preferencia á otra potencia. Y aunque no

preserved by force of arms and by military defenses, which it cannot support, but through well coördinated negotiations to people it, through stratagems conducted with dissimulation and prudence, [p. 24] and, if the occasion requires it, through secret understandings and dissensions opportunely instigated among the Indians.

If the English should become neighbors to the Americans in East Florida, by virtue of the cession that we could make to them of this province, it can be affirmed almost certainly that, in addition to the rivalry of contiguity, the hatred of conquerors and rebels would operate between them, and that for both reasons rancor and suspicion would always remain active.⁸² This is the case on the Canadian side, where, in spite of the remonstrances of the Americans, the English still hold some forts and districts which were ceded to the Americans in the recent treaty of peace.⁸³ The English, who perhaps have not yet given up the idea of recovering North America, would spread out in East Florida along the southern bank of St. Marys River, [p. 25] which forms the boundary with the [United] States. As its navigation is open to the inhabitants of both banks, the English would soon cross over, as their custom is, to the northern bank to cut timber; and continuing this, they would penetrate into Georgia. These little infractions (which would probably be mutual), corrected in some cases and sustained in others by the respective governments, would ultimately produce the inevitable consequence of mutual hatred and suspicion, and would keep alive incessant disputes and costly dissensions. As for us, we should obtain the advantages consequent upon having put our enemies in a place where not only could they do us no harm, but where they would, on the contrary, distract and divide the attentions and forces of the Americans, rendering impossible or postponing their ideas of plotting against Louisiana, [p. 26] especially if, as one should expect, the English bordering upon them in Canada continued to act in the same manner. On some occasions they would make us, as superiors in those dominions, mediators and guarantors in their controversies, and consequently both nations would there be kept in a kind of dependence upon us, which would assure us then and for a long time thereafter against the attempts of the Americans.

Such is the present writer's way of thinking, and such are the reflections that make him regard the cession of the above-mentioned province to the English, rather than to any other power, as very

It is believed that it would be very advantageous to cede the said province to the English

preferencia á qualquiera otra nacion.

deviera introducirse á hablar de los terminos en que pudiera promoverse ésta negociacion con la Inglaterra, ni de la recompensa que convendria pedirse por esta cesion (pues uno y otro pertenece ál Ministerio de Estado que está profundam^{te} [pág. 27] instruido de la actual situacion politica de toda la Europa) sin embargo se atrebe á indicar sus ideas sobre éste delicado punto.

Partidos que pudieran proponerse á la Inglaterra.

Despues que nuestro Embajador en Londres hubiese hecho conocer á aquel Ministerio, por los medios y con la precaucion y sagacidad que exigen tales negociaciones, que el Rey ntño Señor daria gustoso una buena compensacion por Gibraltar, ofrecería que. S. M. no tendria inconveniente en ceder á la Inglaterra la Florida por cámbio de dha Plaza. Es mui regular que aquel Ministerio, verdadera ó afectadamente desechase éste partido: entonces prometeria ampliarles el terreno de la costa de Yucatán hasta el Rio Molinos (Plano 1º) cuya pretensión suscitaron quando la convención de Mosquitos, y entregarles tres ó quatro Islotes ó Cayos frente de la boca del Rio Walix, pues ni para lo uno ni para lo otro hai inconveniente [pág. 28] respecto á que, ademas de q^e deve creerse que estan ellos ocupando en el dia clandestinamente dhos Cayos y las dos Orillas del Rio Sibién, con la Isla Casina ó Cocina que les fué cedida por la propria convención, no pueden ocasionarnos desde aquel punto perjuicio alguno. Y si tampoco se conviniesen á ésto, podria nuestro Embajador ofrecerles ultimamente un millon de pesos, cuya cantidad, segun el cómputo que se hizo arriba, la devengaria S.M. en quatro años que dexáse de enviar la regular asignación á la Florida.

Pudiera talvez no verificarse ésta negociación con la Inglaterra por que el Ministerio no la creyese conven^{te} ó por otras razones: en éste caso parece que deveria intentarse con qualquiera otra Potencia, aun quando fuese bájo de partidos de poquisima utilidad, pues el exponente concive tan ventajoso á la España el deshacerse de ésta inutil y costosisima Provincia que [pág. 29] lleva su discurso ál termino extremo de concevir conveniente dar dinero encima á qualquiera Potencia q^e quisiera admitirla; pero q^e nunca seria prudente abandonarla, pues en éste caso se apoderarian de ella los Americanos y nos resultaria un daño talvez mayor aunque de diferente naturaleza.

Demarcacion de limites.

Como en la actualidad no hai otros limites conocidos entre la Florida Oriental y los Americanos que el Rio S^{ta} Maria, que la

advantageous. And, although he should not thrust himself into a discussion of the terms on which this negotiation might be undertaken with England, or of the price that it would be expedient to ask for this cession (since both of these matters are in the province of the ministry of state, which has a profound [p. 27] knowledge of the present political situation of the whole of Europe), nevertheless he ventures to indicate his ideas on this delicate point.

After our ambassador in London shall have informed that government, by the means and with the precaution and prudence that such negotiations require, that our lord, the king, would willingly give a good equivalent for Gibraltar, he might suggest that his Majesty would have no objection to ceding Florida to England in return for the said fort.⁸⁴ It is quite likely that that government, either sincerely or affectedly, would reject this offer. Then he might promise to increase their territory on the coast of Yucatan to the Rio Molinos (Plan No. 1),⁸⁵ a claim that they raised at the time of the Mosquito Convention, and to hand over to them three or four barren islets or keys opposite the mouth of the Rio Walix. There is no objection to either the former or the latter, [p. 28] since, besides the fact that one must believe that they are at present clandestinely occupying the said keys and both banks of the Rio Sibien as well as Casina or Cocina Island, which was ceded to them by the same convention, they cannot do us any damage from that point. And if they do not agree to this either, our ambassador could finally offer them a million pesos, which sum, according to the computation made above, his Majesty would recover within four years by not having to send the regular subsidy to Florida.

Perhaps this negotiation with England might not take place because the ministry might not believe it expedient, or for other reasons. In such case, it appears that it should be attempted with some other power, even on terms that would yield little advantage; for the present writer regards it as so advantageous to Spain to get rid of this useless and most expensive province that [p. 29] he carries his reasoning to the extreme point of holding it expedient to give a cash bonus to any power whatever that will have the province; but that it would never be prudent to abandon it, since in that case the Americans would take possession of it and we should suffer even greater injury, though of a different kind.

As there is at present no other boundary known between East Florida and the Americans than St. Marys River, which separates

rather than to any other nation.

Arrangements which might be proposed to England.

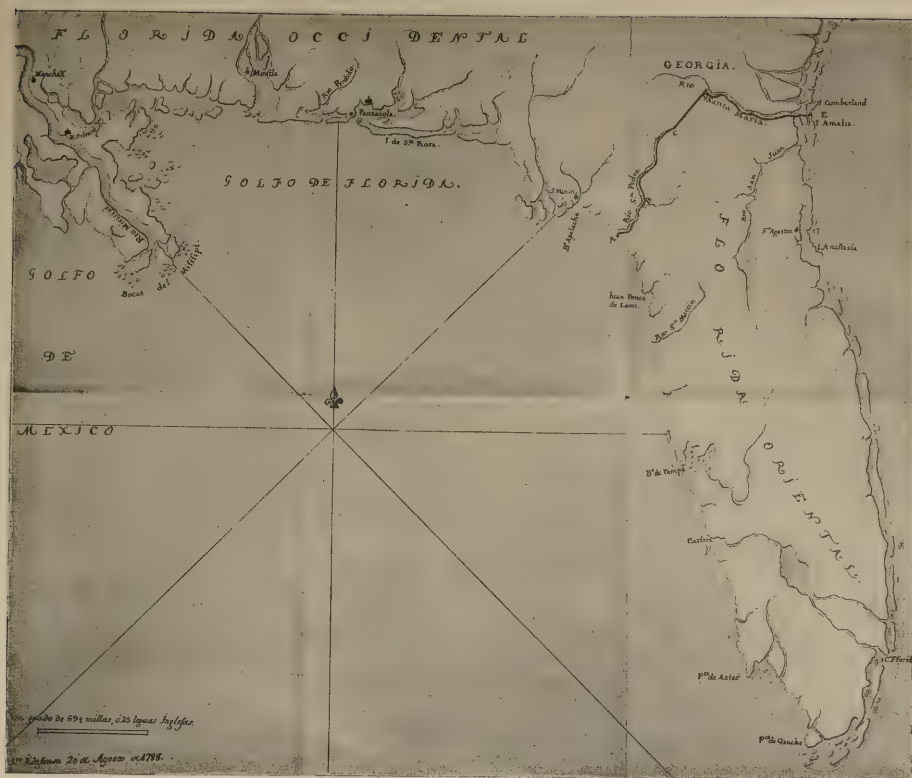
Demarcation of boundary.

divide del Estado de Georgia, sería preciso en todo caso señalarlos tambien por la parte en que dha Provincia debería ser confinante con ntña Florida Occidental. Para hacer esta operacion con el acierto, seguridad y perfeccion debida sería necesario tambien practicar un reconocimiento de dho Rio S^{ta} Maria, del de Apalache y sus inmediatos al Este para demarcar ál menos con alguna exactitud sus rumbos que [pág. 30] en el dia son dudosos. Si estos fueran verdaderam^{te} los que se representan en el Plano 1^o (que está arreglado ál que por Oñ de los Estados gñales dió á luz en el año de 83 el Cosmografo Abel Buell) debería contarse la linea divisoria, en concepto del exponente, empezando desde la embocadura A del Rio Sⁿ Pedro (ó de alguno de sus inmediatos que se reconociese mas á proposito) y subiendo por él tomar el brazo BC que en su nacimiento se aproximase mas ál de S^{ta} Maria: tirar la linea CD del Sud-Oeste ál Nord-Este hasta encontrar éste ultimo Rio, y bajar por él hasta su desembocadura E en el mar. De éste modo quedaba dentro del terreno Español el Establecimiento de Apalache, en donde hoi tenemos una pequeña poblacion y un surgidero aunque de poca importancia.

Por lo que respecta á los Limites que habrian de fixarse entre España y [pág. 31] los Americanos desde el punto D, donde la linea encuentra ál Rio S^{ta} Maria, hácia la Florida Occidental, deberían arreglarse con los Estados ál mismo tpo q^e la linea gñal divisoria q^e se halla pendiente con ellos.

Advertencia.

Como el unico objeto que el exponente se ha propuesto ál tiempo de verter estos apuntes es el del R^l servicio y bien del Estado, no rehusa manifestar: que para poner en practica sus ideas en parte ó en el todo pudieran acaso mediar algunos obstaculos q^e él no haya provisto; y por lo mismo comprende seria conveniente que éste papel se pasase á informe del Gobern^{or} de la Havana y de ntños Ministros en Nueva Yorck y Londres para q^e expusiesen su dictamen sobre todos los puntos que contiene. Tambien pudiera informar sobre ellos el Gobernador de la Florida Céspedes, si el Ministerio lo creyese oportuno; pero el parecer de éste será siempre arreglado á sus ideas de que subsista y se fomente aquel Gobierno



Map of Florida, 1788

it from the state of Georgia, it would be necessary in any case to indicate the boundaries in that region in which the said province must be contiguous to our West Florida. In order to carry on this operation successfully, securely, and completely, it would also be necessary to make a reconnaissance of the said St. Marys River, of the Apalache [*i.e.*, Appalachicola] River, and of the neighboring region to the eastward, in order to establish their courses with at least some degree of precision, for [p. 30] they are at present doubtful. If these are in reality as they are shown on Plan No. 1 (which is in conformity with the one published by the cosmographer Abel Buell⁸⁶ in the year 1783 by order of the Estates General [*i.e.*, the congress of the United States]), the dividing line should, in the opinion of the present writer, be reckoned as beginning at the mouth A of the San Pedro River (or of some nearby river that may be found more suitable), and ascending this, should take the branch BC, whose source is nearest to that of the St. Marys. The line CD should then be drawn from southwest to northeast until it encounters the last named river, down which it should descend to its outlet E in the sea. In this way the settlement of Apalache would remain within Spanish territory. We have there today a little town and an anchoring place, though they are of little importance.⁸⁷

As for the boundary that would have to be established between Spain and [p. 31] the Americans from the point D, where the line encounters the St. Marys River, to West Florida, this should be arranged with the [United] States at the same time as the general boundary line, which is still pending with them.

Remark.

As the only object that the present writer had in mind at the time of sketching this memorandum was that of the royal service and the welfare of the state, he is not unwilling to declare: that perhaps some obstacles that he has not foreseen may exist to prevent his ideas from being put into practice in whole or in part. He therefore understands that it would be expedient to transmit this paper for the advice of the governor of Havana and our ministers at New York and London, in order that they may give their opinion upon all the points contained in it. Governor Céspedes of [East] Florida might also report upon it, if the ministry thinks it advisable; but his opinion would always be in conformity with his idea

aunque sea á costa de enterrar en él infructuosamente millares de hombres y de pesos.

Sⁿ Ildefonso 20 de agosto de 1788.

JPH SALCEDO.

[*Rubricado*]

Nota.

Copias de este papel y Planos se pasaron á dⁿ Luis de las Casas, electo Gobernador de la Havana, y tambⁿ un extracto de varias cartas del Gobernador Zespedes que fué de la [pág. 32] de la [*sic*] Florida para que en vista de todo informase desde la Habana lo que creyese conveniente y en reserva. Dho Oficio se le pasó con fha de 18 de En^o de 1790 sin nombrarle el sujeto que hizo éste proyecto, y el extracto de Cespedes comprende los contenidos de sus cartas de 24 de dic^e de 86 n^o 180; 19 de En^o y 27 de marzo de 87 n^{os} 14 y 185; 12 de mayo de 87 n^o 17; y 2 de ag^{to} de dho, n^o 209; 16 de Junio id. n^o 200.

Sobre dho extracto, que se halla en la Mesa de la Havana, no se tomó provid^a hasta ver las resultas de los informes pedidos á Casas.

Despues mandó S. E. se pasasen iguales copias ál S^{or} Florida-blanca para que sobre el proyecto tomase los informes que creyese convenientes y asi se hizo con fha de 25 del proprio mes de Enero.

XI. ACTAS DE LA SUPREMA JUNTA DE ESTADO.

22 de Septiembre de 1788

Junta de Estado de 22. de Sept. 1788.

[Presentes] Sres. Todos.
[Asunto:] Indias G. y Haz^{da} Luisiana.
De unos extractos que traso el Sr. Dn. Antonio Valdes comprehensivos de todo lo correspondiente al Comercio de la Luisiana y Floridas, para el asunto que en el dia se trata resulta lo siguiente:

Que el Comercio con las Naciones de Indios le han hecho en las Floridas, por tolerancia o con permiso del Gobierno de ellas, dos

that that province should be maintained and developed even at the cost of burying fruitlessly in it thousands of men and pesos.

San Ildefonso, August 20, 1788.

JOSEPH SALCEDO.

[*Rubric*]

*Note.*⁸⁸

Copies of this paper and the plans were transmitted to Don Luis de las Casas, governor elect of Havana, together with an extract of various letters from former Governor Céspedes of [p. 32] [East] Florida, in order that he might report confidentially from Havana whatever he believed expedient. The said despatch was transmitted to him under date of January 18, 1790, without naming the person who made this proposal; and the abstract [of the correspondence] of Céspedes includes the contents of his letters of December 24, 1786, No. 180; January 19 and March 27, 1787, Nos. 14 and 185; May 12, 1787, No. 17, and August 2 of the same year, No. 209; June 16 of the same, No. 200.

With regard to the said abstract, which is to be found in the *Mesa de la Havana*, no action was taken pending the result of the reports requested of Casas.

Later, his Excellency ordered copies of the same documents to be transmitted to Señor Floridablanca, in order that he might gather such information in regard to the project as he should think expedient; and this was done under date of the 25th of the same month of January, [1790].⁸⁹

XI. MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE SUPREMA JUNTA DE ESTADO.⁹⁰

September 22, 1788

Junta de Estado, September 22, 1788.

From several extracts presented by Señor Don Antonio Valdés,⁹¹ including everything relating to the commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas, for the matter that is at present under consideration, results the following:

That, by the indulgence or with the permission of the government of those provinces, the commerce with the Indian nations has

[Present] Señores:
All.

[Agenda:] Indies
War and Treasury,
Louisiana.

Comerciantes Ingleses llamados Dn. Santiago Masther [*sic*], y Dn. Guillermo Ponton [*sic*], que llevan sus generos directamente de Inglaterra, y tienen sus almacenes uno en la Movila, y otro en Panzacola; cuyos generos son los que quieren y estiman los Indios, por estar hechos a ellos, y ser adaptados a sus actuales costumbres. Que en virtud de orden de 26. de Agosto del año pasado el Intendente de la Luisiana hizo saber a estos Comerciantes que no se les concederian mas permisos para su trafico, necesitando el del Rey para continuarle; y que al regreso de sus buques a Londres se presentasen al Embaxador de S.M. a fin de saber las ordenes con que se hallaba sobre este particular. Que con los buques que llegaron de Inglaterra por enero proximo anterior habia provision de generos para el trafico con los Indios durante un año; pero que como este no se puede interrumpir sin exponerse a que los Indios acudan a las Colonias y con este motivo contraygan amistades y empeños que al fin nos sean perjudicialisimos, se necesitarian otras iguales remesas de generos en Movila y Panzacola para Novre. proximo. Que el Sr. Marques del Campo, Embaxador del Rey en Londres, aviso con fha. de 4. de Junio, que habia regresado la Fragata Maria, de Ponton; y que mediante que segun informes de los correspondientes de este, y de los Gefes de la Luisiana, faltaran generos para los Indios, sino se proveen a tiempo, de lo cual indignados se podrian arrojar a qualesquiera temeridades, permitiria que dha. Fragata volviese con un moderado cargamento; de cuyo asunto cuidaria en ausencia suya Dn. Francisco de Mollinedo Encargado de los Negocios del Rey. Que despues aviso Mollinedo; que los correspondientes de Ponton se habian presentado pidiendo permiso para que fuese un Navio en lastre, a Apalache, a fin de retornar con las peleterias que tienen alli, respecto no ser suficiente la Fragata Maria que iria con cargamento de generos a Panzacola I que en consecuencia de todo esto se dieron ordenes en 29 de Agosto proximo anterior para que dhas casas Inglesas hagan por este año los acostumbrados cargamentos, y para que la de Ponton envíe dho Navio en lastre. Considerando la Junta que es forzoso proveer a los Indios de los generos que necesitan y a que estan acostumbrados, pues de lo contrario nos expondriamos a graves resultas; y que por ahora no tenemos nosotros medio alguno de ejecutarlo: la parecio que el Sr. Valdes conceda a las Casas de Mather y Ponton

been carried on in the Floridas by two English merchants named Don James Mather and Don William Panton,⁹² who bring their goods direct from England and have their warehouses, one in Mobile and the other in Pensacola; which goods are those that the Indians desire and esteem, since they are made for them and are adapted to their present customs. That in consequence of the order of August 26 of last year the intendant of Louisiana informed these merchants that no more licenses for their traffic would be granted them, since they must have that of the king in order to continue it, and that upon the return of their ships to London they must apply to his Majesty's ambassador in order to know what orders he had upon this subject. That by the ships which arrived from England about the preceding January there was a sufficient supply of goods for one year's trade with the Indians; but that, since this cannot be interrupted without the risk that the Indians may turn to the colonies [*i.e.*, the United States] and thereby form friendships and engagements which may ultimately be most prejudicial to us, other like supplies of goods would be required in Mobile and Pensacola for the following November. That the Marqués del Campo, the king's ambassador in London, stated, under date of June 4, that Panton's frigate *Mary* had returned; and that since, according to statements of the latter's correspondents and of the chiefs of Louisiana, there would be a deficiency of goods for the Indians unless they were sent in time, in which case the outraged Indians might venture almost any imprudence, he would permit the said frigate to return with a moderate cargo, and that this business would be attended to during his absence by Don Francisco de Mollinedo, the king's chargé d'affaires. That Mollinedo later informed him that Panton's correspondents came to him and asked permission for one ship to go in ballast to Apalache in order to bring back the peltry that they have there, in view of the fact that the frigate *Mary*, which was going with the cargo of goods to Pensacola, would not be enough; and that in consequence of all this, orders were given on the 29th of last August to the effect that the said English houses might send the usual cargoes this year, and that Panton's house might send the said ship in ballast. The Junta, considering that it is essential to supply the Indians with the goods they need and to which they are accustomed, since otherwise we should expose ourselves to serious consequences, and that for the present we have no means of doing this ourselves, was of the opinion that Señor Valdés should grant the houses of Mather and

las prorrogas que juzgue precisas para continuar aquel tráfico. I que se llame al Intendente de la Luisiana Nabarro para hablar con él sobre estas materias, enterandole de las ideas del Ministerio sobre lo general del Comercio de la Luisiana y Floridas, para que resulte alguna utilidad a la Nacion.

EUG^o LLAGUNO.

XII. MARTÍN NAVARRO, ANTES INTENDENTE DE LA LUISIANA, AL BAILÍO FRAY ANTONIO VALDÉS Y BAZÁN EXPONIENDO VARIOS MEDIOS PARA EL FOMENTO DEL COMERCIO ESPAÑOL CON LA LUISIANA Y LAS FLORIDAS.

Madrid, 26 de Abril de 1789

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Exñmo. S^{or}

1. Num^o 3. Con fecha de 7 del corriente se sirve decirme V.E. Que enterado el Rey del expediente sobre los medios de establecer un Comercio directo con la Luisiana y Florida desde nuestros Puertos habilitados para el de Yndias, ha resuelto S.M. conformandose con el dictamen de la Junta de Estado que continúe segun el sistema y baxo las libertades y franquicias concedidas por la Real Cedula de 82. hasta que cumpla el termino de ella; Y que para ver si entre tanto nuestros Comerciantes hacen por via de ensayo algunas expediciones que les instruyan en él, se comuniquen orden circular á los Consulados concediendo los auxilios y gracias que se ofrecieron por la de 21 de Abril de 1788.

Que con el mismo objeto, y atendiendo á que segun he informado yo son muchos los articulos que hay en España los quales se hacen casi á los mismos precios que en las Fabricas Estrangeras, y acomodados al uso y gusto de aquellos Habitantes, se logrará no solo mejorar la industria nacional, sino dar extension al Comercio: Para lo qual seria conveniente que á un Sugeto de capacidad, zelo y conocimientos practicos se le encargase traer de Francia é Ynglaterra muestras y modelos despues de enterarse del estado de nuestras Fabricas de Palencia, Barcelona, y Vizcaya, y que este mismo

Panton the extensions that he may deem necessary for the continuance of that traffic; and that the intendant of Louisiana, Navarro,⁹³ shall be summoned for a conference on these matters, informing him of the ideas of the ministry on the general subject of the commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas, in order that some profit may accrue to the nation.

EUGENIO LLAGUNO.⁹⁴

XII. MARTÍN NAVARRO, FORMER INTENDANT OF LOUISIANA, TO BAILÍO FRAY ANTONIO VALDÉS Y BAZÁN SETTING FORTH VARIOUS METHODS FOR INCREASING SPANISH TRADE WITH LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.⁹⁵

Madrid, April 26, 1789

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Most Excellent Sir:

Under date of the 7th of this month, your Excellency is pleased to tell me: That his Majesty, informed of the *expediente* on the means of establishing direct commerce with Louisiana and Florida from our ports that are habilitated for trade with the Indies, has determined, in conformity with the opinion of the Junta de Estado, that it shall continue according to the system and under the privileges and exemptions granted by the royal cédula of 1782⁹⁶ until the expiration of the latter; and that, in order to see if meanwhile our merchants will make some tentative expeditions which will train them in it, a circular order be transmitted to the tribunals of commerce granting the aid and concessions that were offered in the order of April 21, 1788.⁹⁷

That, with the same object, and in view of the fact that, according to information that I have given, the articles are numerous which are made in Spain at almost the same price as in foreign factories and which, if adapted to the use and tastes of those inhabitants, will not only benefit national industry but also increase our commerce, for which purpose it would be expedient that a person of ability, zeal, and practical knowledge be commissioned to bring samples and models from France and England after informing himself of the condition of our factories in Palencia, Barcelona,

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No. 3.

observe los progresos y relaciones de las Fábricas con el Comercio, me ha nombrado el Rey para este encargo é inspeccion; en cuya consecuencia deberé formar un Plan con la exactitud y economía posibles que comprenda los medios, y auxilios proporcionados.

En contestacion á todo debo decir á V.E. Que por lo que mira al ensayo que se ha dispuesto encargar á los Consulados de algunas Expediciones que los instruyan del comercio de aquella Provincia, auxiliandolos con las gracias que se les ofrecieron en orden de 21 de Abril de 88. es absolutamente impracticable; y si por casualidad hubiere alguno, que dificulto mucho, que llevado de un aparente beneficio, lo intentase, que nunca pasaria de una expedicion, brebe verá el desgraciado efecto de su empresa.

Lo primero: porque no hay entre nuestros Comerciantes uno solo que esté instruido de los consumos de aquellos Naturales.

Lo segundo: porque nuestros Pilotos no tienen conocimiento aún de la Navegacion de aquella Costa dificil y peligrosa.

Lo tercero: porque los Buques que ván con destino á Vera-Cruz es menester que extravien su viage, en que es preciso consumir mucho tiempo, y contraher enormes, y exorbitantes gastos.

Lo quarto: porque los Buques destinados al trafico de Nueva-España cálan mucha mas agua que la que hay en la entrada del Misisipi, y no pueden exponerse á descargar en la Costa por lo expuesto de ella sin aventurarse á evidentes riesgos que ninguna Plaza de Comercio asegurará sin una Prima proporcional al peligro.

Lo quinto: porque aun en el supuesto de que pudiesen entrar, nunca la libertad de la parte de derechos que se les ofrece, indemnizaria los gastos de la descarga total que era forzoso practicasen, respecto á que los enbases y generos de peso, como fierro, caldos y una infinidad de otros articulos de esta clase van sirviendo de estiva en el fondo de la bodega.

Lo sexto: porque ó el Buque ha de dexar la parte de su cargamento almacenado en poder de un Comisionado, ó ha de esperar la venta de él; y en ambos casos debe inferirse quales seran los perjuicios que se seguirán al Armador.

Lo septimo: porque aún suponiendo que vendiese de contado, nunca por la via de Vera-Cruz podrá retornar la Peleteria de la

and Vizcaya, and that he should also observe the progress and relations of the factories with commerce, the king has named me for this commission and inspection;⁹⁸ in consequence of which it will be my duty to formulate, with all possible precision and economy, a plan which shall include a statement of the proper means and assistance.

In answer thereto, I must tell your Excellency that, as for the experiment, which it has been arranged to confide to the tribunals of commerce, of certain expeditions which shall give them information about the commerce of that province, aiding them with the concessions offered them in the order of April 21, 1788, this is absolutely impracticable; and if, perchance, there should be anyone (I doubt it seriously) who, carried away by an apparent benefit, should attempt it (and there will never be more than one expedition), he will soon see the unfortunate result of his undertaking.

First, because among our merchants there is not a single one who knows what articles are consumed by those natives.

Second, because our pilots are not yet acquainted with the navigation of that difficult and dangerous coast.

Third, because the ships sailing for Vera Cruz have to go out of their way, thus necessarily consuming a great deal of time and incurring enormous and exorbitant expenses.

Fourth: Because the ships designed for trade with New Spain draw much more water than there is at the mouth of the Mississippi; and they cannot venture to unload on the coast, because it is so exposed, without running obvious risks, against which no business firm would insure them except at a premium proportionate to the risk.

Fifth, because, even supposing that they could enter [the Mississippi], the partial exemption from duties which they are offered would never compensate them for the expenses of the complete unloading that they would have to carry out, since the casks and heavy articles, such as iron, liquors, and an infinity of other articles of this kind always serve as ballast in the bottom of the hold.

Sixth, because the ship must either leave a part of its cargo in storage in the hands of an agent, or else await its sale; and in both cases it must be inferred what will be the losses that the shipper will suffer.

Seventh, because, even supposing that it should be sold immediately, the peltry of the province could never be sent by way of Vera Cruz without exposing it to the danger of complete ruin; and

Provincia sin exponerla á inutilizarse enteramente, y aún menos los demas frutos de ella por su crecido volumen, y poquisimo valor.

Lo octavo: porque es de la mayor imposibilidad el que de los Puertos de España se lleve á efecto el propuesto ensayo interin que aquella Colonia tenga la libertad de comerciar con las Yslas Francesas.

Lo noveno y ultimo: porque no pudiendo retornar dichos Buques á su salida de Vera-Cruz á cargar en la Luisiana sus frutos por innumerables causas que no pueden ocultarse á los intereses de nuestros Comerciantes, es conseqüente que aquellos Naturales abandonen sus cosechas, su industria y su fortuna, y queden constituidos en el mayor desamparo, despues de haberseles hecho conocer las comodidades y ventajas de un comercio libre con la Francia.

Las consecuencias de esta innovacion no pueden menos que ser funestas, y son demasiado visibles para desatenderse.

Sirvase V.E. tener presente que en mi Memoria del 15 de Enero de este año hago manifestos los inconvenientes que pueden seguirse aun adoptandose el sistema que propongo de los tres Puertos habilitados con generos extranjeros; Y que uno de los Vocales de la Suprema Junta de Estado sabiamente dice, tratando del comercio de dicha Provincia: *Todos los remedios serán paliativos y casi inútiles; ó los disgustaremos de modo que los excite á una fermentacion peligrosa.*

Por otra parte me tranquiliza la seguridad en que permanezco de que por nuestros Consulados no se propondra ensayo alguno fundado en los motivos citados, y en otros que estos Cuerpos sabran analizar con mas utilidad que yo: Pero sirvase V.E. no olvidar.

Que desde el instante mismo que la Provincia de la Luisiana tenga noticia de estas alteraciones; que el interesante proyecto de los Americanos del Quintooky, sino se trastorna y declara contra nosotros que se suspende hasta observar las resultas; y que una vez separados de nuestra amistad en que incesantemente trabajan con la mas sagaz eficacia los Yngleses, todas nuestras fuerzas no son capaces de reducirlos en aquella parte del Mundo favorecidos de las proporciones locales del País.

Y pregunto: ¿quales seran entonces las conseqüencias? ¿Quales serán nuestros cuydados y temores? ¿Y quantos los inmensos gastos

still less could the other fruits of the province, because of their great bulk and very low value.

Eighth, because it is utterly impossible that the ports of Spain should make the proposed attempt successfully so long as that colony is permitted to trade with the French islands.

Ninth and last, because the said ships upon leaving Vera Cruz could not, for innumerable reasons which cannot be hidden to the interests of our merchants, return to Louisiana for cargoes of its products, and the result would be that those natives would abandon their crops, their industry, and their fortunes and would be thrown into the greatest misery, after they had once been made to know the comforts and advantages arising out of free trade with France.

The consequences of this innovation cannot fail to be lamentable, and they are too obvious to be disregarded.

Your Excellency will kindly remember that, in my memorial of January 15 of this year,⁹⁹ I call attention to the difficulties which might arise even from the adoption of the system that I propose [of commerce] from the three habilitated ports with foreign goods; and that one of the members of the Suprema Junta de Estado wisely remarks, in speaking of the commerce of that province: *All the remedies will be palliatives and virtually useless; or else we shall offend them [the colonists] in such a way as to arouse in them a dangerous fermentation.*

On the other hand, I am reassured by the certainty in which I still remain that no attempt will be proposed by our tribunals of commerce based on the above cited reasons and on other reasons which those bodies can analyze more profitably than I can; but your Excellency will kindly not forget:

That from the moment that the province of Louisiana learns of these disturbances, the interesting project of the Americans of Kentucky,¹⁰⁰ if it is not overthrown and decided against us, will be suspended until the results are observed; and that once divorced from our friendship (a result for which the English¹⁰¹ are incessantly striving with the most sagacious efficacy), all our forces will not be able to reduce them in that part of the world, favored as they are by the local advantages of the country.

And I ask: What will the consequences be then? What will be our cares and fears? And what immense expenses to build ourselves

para formarnos por tierra firme una Barrera de presidios, que la Providencia nos proporciona ahora con nuestros propios enemigos?

Es menester convenir, Exño. S^{or}, que menos inconveniente será abandonar aquellos Colonos á un Comercio libre, sacar de ellos el partido que se pueda, disminuir las obligaciones, y con ellas los Situados haciendo de la necesidad virtud, que vernos privados de una Provincia que será indefectiblemente el punto de reunion de todos los Emigrantes de America y Europa con que algun día pueden inquietar las posesiones del fertilisimo Reyno de Nueva-España. ¿No seria mas á proposito suspender toda inovacion hasta concluir el principiado proyecto de atraer á nuestra proteccion estos Vasallos; prepararnos en el intermedio á fomentar nuestras fabricas, y determinar entonces segun las circunstancias, que hacer conocer antes de tiempo las ideas de reducirlos á nuestro sistema de comercio diametralmente opuesto á la libertad en que siempre vivieron?

Mexico, repito, aunque nunca sea el obgeto de sus conquistas, debe serlo de nuestras precauciones y cuidados: Reflexion de que no puedo prescindir sin faltar á la recomendable calidad de buen Vasallo.

El encargo é inspeccion para la qual se dignó la Piedad del Rey nombrarme son superiores á mis fuerzas y conocimiento; pero igual mi deseo á mi obediencia cuydaré llenarlos, empleando todos mis desvelos para hacer asequible el pensamiento en la parte que me sea posible.

Solicito é interesado como esta el Alto Ministerio en el fomento de la industria nacional, conoce que sin ella no podemos prosperar; y que aunque se han tomado muchas y muy costosas medidas para su plantificacion, estamos muy distantes del punto á que debe llegar para surtirnos de lo que necesitamos.

La preocupacion de muchos de que la Providencia ha destinado á cada Nacion medios determinadamente peculiares para subsistir, es quimerica, y sería degradarnos en la publica opinion querer sostener esta maxima el Hombre fue formado, hablo políticamente, para constituir el orden de sociedad de que habia de ser miembro; la variedad de climas influye en la parte moral y fisica, y las necesidades en la politica: Vemos unas Naciones sin poseher las materias moviles de la industria ser dueños de las fabricas y artefactos; otras poseyendolas todas, carecer de uno y otro: unas circundadas de costas maritimas rodeadas de escollos, sin Puertos sino á

a barrier of garrisons on the continent, which providence now furnishes us with in the persons of our very enemies?

One must agree, most excellent sir, that it would be less objectionable to abandon those colonists to free trade, to get any possible advantage from them, to reduce the obligations and along with them the subsidies,¹⁰² thus making a virtue of necessity, than to see ourselves deprived of a province that will indefectibly become the gathering point of all the emigrants of America and Europe so that some day they will be able to disturb the possessions of the very fertile kingdom of New Spain. Would it not be more opportune to suspend any innovation until the conclusion of the pending project of attracting those people to our protection and prepare ourselves in the meanwhile to develop our factories, and then make a decision according to circumstances, rather than to advertise beforehand the idea of reducing them to our system of commerce, which is diametrically opposed to the freedom in which they have always lived?

Mexico, I repeat, although it may never be the object of their conquests,¹⁰³ should always be the object of our precautions and care: a reflection that I cannot omit without being wanting in the commendable quality of a good subject.

The commission and inspection to which the goodness of the king has seen fit to appoint me exceed my powers and knowledge; but my desire is equal to my obedience and I will take care to discharge them, exercising all vigilance in order to make the idea attainable, so far as I am able.

With the solicitude and interest that the exalted ministry has for national industry, it knows that without this we cannot prosper; and that, although many very expensive measures have been taken for that purpose, we are still very far from the point at which it must arrive in order to be able to provide us with what we need.

The preconception held by many that providence has assigned to each nation definitively peculiar means for its subsistence is chimerical, and to seek to sustain this maxim would be to degrade ourselves in public opinion. Man was made (I speak politically) to establish the order of society of which he must be a member. The varieties of climate influence the moral and physical spheres, and wants influence the political. We see some nations masters of factories and handiwork, although destitute of the raw materials of industry; while others are lacking in both, though they possess all [these resources]. We see some nations with the whole coast sur-

mucha costa, tener la marina mercantil mas floreciente: otras con Puertos segurisimos, y con conexiones ultramarinas, sin marineros. A muchas causas se atribuye esta carencia: la mas cierta es que estamos, hablando con respeto á nuestra necesidad, con poca poblacion, sin industria, con reducidas fabricas, sin actividad en la agricultura, y con las mas felices proporciones de la naturaleza, viendonos en la dura constitucion de recibir de los Estrangeros manufacturados sus generos, hallandonos los arbitros de las lanas, de la seda y de los tintes.

Esta critica situacion nos pone en la necesidad indispensable de trabajar en discurrir medios activos y eficaces que destierren la ociosidad, promuevan la industria, y con ella el que se pueblen las desiertas campiñas de nuestra España: El Alto Ministerio bastante se desvela; pero el abandono en que habia caido la Nacion pide fuerzas, constancia y tiempo proporcionado para levantarla del letargo en que subsistio muchos años.

La industria y el comercio en la parte que toca á la Provincia de la Luisiana, y Florida son el obgeto directo de mi comision; y no puede efectuarse sin hacer venir de Francia y otras fabricas estrangeras muestras de los generos que se consumen en ella á fin de que puedan practicarse en las nuestras.

Para hacerla completamente me parece oportuno el que recorriese yo antes las de Francia, Ynglaterra y Olanda, en donde están los artefactos de quanto se consume en aquella Colonia, examinando con cautelosa maña los Obreros, Maquinas y quanto puede conducir á tan importante fin: Para todo tengo la ventaja de poseer el Frances, algo el Yngles y la latinidad procuraré inponerme con preferencia de las que sean mas adaptables en nuestra Peninsula, formar memorias, entablar correspondencias, hacer conexiones, y bolber lleno de noticias utiles.

Examinaré al mismo tiempo las manufacturas de Rape de Dunquerque, y mas Plazas de Europa, de cuyos plantios tengo practicas ideas; indagaré los precios á que se compra el de los Americanos en Francia con relacion á los en que pueda darse el de la Luisiana, proporcionando á esta Provincia la salida á muchos millones de libras porque sin ella no puede fomentarse ni prosperar y tal vez se lograria destruir el comercio de este ramo que hacen los Ameri-

rounded by reefs, without any ports save at great expense, and yet with a most flourishing merchant marine; and others with the safest of ports and with colonial connections, and yet without sailors. This want is attributed to many causes, the most certain of which is that (speaking with reference to our needs) we have a small population, are without industry, have few factories, are inactive in agriculture. Though favored most highly by nature, we find ourselves in the disagreeable necessity of receiving from foreigners goods already made up, and yet we ourselves are the masters of wool, silk, and dyes.

This critical situation imposes upon us the indispensable necessity of laboring to contrive positive and efficacious measures which will banish sloth, promote industry, and thereby people the deserted fields of this Spain of ours.¹⁰⁴ The exalted ministry is vigilant enough; but the destitution into which the nation had fallen requires proportionate energy, constancy, and time in order to lift it out of the lethargy in which it lay for many years.

Industry and commerce, in so far as they relate to the province of Louisiana and Florida, are the direct object of my commission; and this cannot be executed without procuring from French and other foreign factories samples of the goods which are consumed in that province, in order that they may be made in our factories.

In order to do this completely, it seems to me advisable that I should first visit the factories of France, England, and Holland, where there are manufactures of everything consumed in that colony, examining with cautious skill the workers, machines, and whatever else may contribute to so important a purpose. For all of this I have the advantage of knowing French, some English, and Latin. I shall try to inform myself preferably of those factories which are best suited to conditions in our peninsula, and to draw up memoirs, engage in correspondence, establish connections, and return full of useful information.

At the same time I shall examine the tobacco factories of Dunkirk and other European cities, for I have practical ideas about such establishments. I shall find out the prices at which that of the Americans is bought in France with relation to the prices at which it can be had in Louisiana, obtaining for this province an outlet for many millions of pounds, for without such an outlet it cannot develop or prosper; and perhaps one might succeed in destroying the commerce in this article that is carried on by the Americans of

canos de la Virginia; y quando nada consiguiese, me vendré con los modelos, ó muestras que saliese á buscar.

Para esto necesito un Sugeto de mi eleccion que me acompañe, inteligente en los consumos de la Provincia, precios y reduccion de monedas para llevar quenta exacta de cada articulo, y saber á como saldrá en España para hacer cotejos y observar diferencias entre las fabricas Estrangeras y las nuestras; circunstancia utilisima en materias de esta naturaleza.

Para subvenir á los gastos de compras, bien sea de alguna maquina extraordinaria y nueva ó modelo, bien sea de las muestras de lo que deba traer con arreglo á las facturas que lleve, y á lo que conciba yo pueda trabajarse en España, se darán ordenes á los Enviados, y Consules, y estos los satisfaran en virtud de recibos de los Fabricantes.

Tambien deberá observarse que lo que se compre no sea en tan pequeña cantidad que se dé que sospechar, mayormente quando se puede enviar á la Luisiana lo sobrante para los regalos de Yndios que se hacen de quenta de la R^l Hacienda.

Los gastos para mi, y el acompañado se limitarán unicamente á los sueldos, evitando así quentas de gastos que siempre traen consigo la circunstancia odiosa del dudoso manejo. Estos deben reducirse al haver integro de 60 U rr^s Vⁿ conforme á mi graduacion de Yntendente de Exercito, y al de 12 U el del Acompañado, esto es, interin subsistamos en Madrid, y al haver doble hallandonos fuera de la Corte, con los quales atenderemos uno y otro á los gastos extraordinarios del viage, y me hallaré yo en proporcion de gratificar oportunamente á los Obreros y Artesanos con la generosidad que requiere materia tan importante: Erogaciones verdaderamente moderadas, y muy inferiores á la futura utilidad que puede prometer esta expedicion, cuyas resultas deberan afianzar á ambos las gracias á que cada uno se haga acreedor.

Luego que haya concluido mi viage, me presentaré en la Corte á dar exacta noticia y quenta de mi comision á fin de continuar el entable del proyectado pensamiento en nuestras Fabricas, de donde representaré las alteraciones y proteccion que sea preciso conceder para su establecimiento, y el de otras ideas que pienso rectificar y proponer.

Buelbo á decir, que sentado el principio de que el propuesto Ensayo pedido á los Consulados no puede ser asequible por las

Virginia. And if nothing [of this kind] should be obtained, I shall return with the models or samples which I may go to seek.

For this I need a person of my own choice to accompany me, one who knows the articles consumed in the province, the prices and the computation of rates of exchange, so that he may keep an exact account of each article and know the price at which it can be sold in Spain. Thus we can make comparisons and observe the differences between the foreign factories and our own—a most useful particular in matters of this kind.

In order to meet the expenses of purchases, whether of some new and extraordinary machine or model or of the samples of what I am to bring, in accordance with the accompanying bills of lading and with what I believe it possible to produce in Spain, orders will be given to the envoys and consuls, and they will make payment against the receipts of the manufacturers.

It should also be observed that purchases should not be made in such small quantities as to arouse suspicion, especially as the surplus can be sent to Louisiana to be used as presents to the Indians, which are made at the expense of the royal treasury.

My expenses and those of my companion will be covered entirely by our salaries, thus avoiding expense accounts, which always involve the odious circumstance of dubious manipulation. These should be restricted to the whole amount of 60,000 *reales de vellón*, in view of my rank as army intendant, and of 12,000 for my companion, that is, so long as we remain in Madrid, and double that amount when we are absent from court. With these sums we shall each pay the extraordinary expenses of the trip, and I shall be able to give suitable tips to the workmen and artisans with the liberality necessary in so important a matter: truly moderate expenses and very small in comparison with the future utility that this expedition can promise. Its results should guarantee both of us the concessions to which each of us may show he is entitled.

Immediately upon the conclusion of my journey, I shall present myself at court in order to make a detailed report of my commission, so as to continue the execution of the plan projected in our factories, whence I shall report concerning the changes and protection that it may be necessary to grant in order to institute it, and to continue the working out of other ideas which I plan to amend and propose.¹⁰⁵

I repeat that, once the principle is established that the proposed attempt requested of the tribunals of commerce cannot be obtained

razones que dexo dadas, y por otras que omito; y no quedando otro recurso mas que el de adoptar uno de los dos metodos de comercio señalados en mi Memoria, todo nuestro empeño ha de dirigirse á trabajar en dar á nuestras manufacturas ocupacion y fomentar los articulos mas necesarios para que se logre el intento de estender nuestra industria nacional y que nos hallemos en situacion de surtir los mas volum[in]osos y groseros, á lo menos los precisos al consumo de dicha Colonia á la espiracion de la Cedula de 82 que debe subsistir hasta principios de 94 conforme al primer articulo de ella, respecto á que la Paz se declaró en aquella Provincia en otra igual epoca de 84 segun el Tratado de Ratificacion publicado en Madrid en 1º de Octubre de 1783.

Dignese V.E. representarlo á la Suprema Junta de Estado y persuadirla á creher, que no hay determinacion que tenga á bien confiarme en que no procure sacrificarme, como hize siempre, convencido de que de este modo obedeciendo las Soberanas Yntenciones de S. M. correspondo á los efectos de su Superior Eleccion. = Madrid 26 de Abril de 1789.

Exñmo. S^{or}

MARTIN NAVARRO.

[*Dirección:*] Exñmo. S^{or} Bailio Fr. Dⁿ Antonio Valdés y Bazán.

Es copia del Original.

MARTIN NAVARRO.

[*Rubricado*]

XIII. MARTÍN NAVARRO, ANTES INTENDENTE DE LA LUISIANA, AL BAILÍO FRAY ANTONIO VALDÉS Y BAZÁN SOBRE EL SUCESO DE SU MISIÓN.

Londres, 8 de Diciembre de 1789

Exmo Señor

Concedido lo que propone.

No habiendo salido este Año mas que un Barco para Panzacola Tubo que cargar Todos los Efectos de Lana que á la Sason se allavan en las Fabricas propios al consumo de los Yndios, y fue preciso esperar se hiziesen otros para recoger los consavidos; En esta

for the reasons given above, and for others which I omit; and there being no other alternative but that of adopting one of the two systems of commerce indicated in my memorial: all our effort must be directed toward the endeavor to provide occupation for our manufactures and to foster the articles most necessary in order that the design to extend our national industry may be attained and so that we may be in a position to supply the bulkiest and coarsest articles—at least those that are most essential for the consumption of the said colony—upon the expiration of the *cédula* of 1782, which must continue in force until the beginning of 1794 in accordance with its first article, since peace was declared in that province at the same period in 1784 by virtue of the treaty of ratification published in Madrid, October 1, 1783.

Your Excellency will kindly represent this to the Suprema Junta de Estado and persuade it to believe that there is no decision that it may send me to which I shall not try to sacrifice myself, as I always do, convinced that thus obeying the sovereign intentions of his Majesty I answer the purposes of his superior choice. Madrid, April 26, 1789.

Most Excellent Sir.

MARTIN NAVARRO.

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Bailío Fray Don Antonio Valdés y Bazán.

A copy of the original.

MARTÍN NAVARRO.

[*Rubric*]

XIII. MARTÍN NAVARRO, FORMER INTENDANT OF LOUISIANA, TO BAILÍO FRAY ANTONIO VALDÉS Y BAZÁN, REPORTING THE PROGRESS OF HIS MISSION.¹⁰⁶

London, December 8, 1789

Most Excellent Sir

Since only one ship has sailed for Pensacola this year, it had to load all the woollen goods suitable for the Indians' use that the factories had on hand at the time, and it was *necessary to wait while others were being made in order to obtain those that you know*

His proposal approved.¹⁰⁷

Semana llegaron los principales Paños y sucesivamente Todo lo demas, que congeturo podria ir en el primer Barco que salga con destino á Bilbao desde el 25 en adelante; Era consequente que á la misma época enprendiese yo mi Viage á entrar por Barcelona á examinar aquellas Fabricas y ver en las que podrian adaptarse, con la noticia de los precios que tengo, recogiendo al paso por St Etienne en Francia el Articulo de Fusiles que he encargado, pero la razon de adquirir algun conocimiento en materias que no pueden ser indiferentes á mí Nacion y con particularidad al Ministerio de V.E., me pone en el caso de detenerme algunos Meses, á lo menos interin dure la rigorosa estacion del Ynbierno; Si V.E. se dignase aprovárselo le suplico se sirva mandarmelo prevenir, pues en su defecto nada me contendrá á emprender mi marcha despues de pasado el Termino regular á poder recibir la respuesta; En este intermedio salgo á visitar las Fabricas de Birmingham y Manchester para no perder un instante de los que pueden interesar los importantes fines del Servicio.

Nro Sor Gue á V.E. m^s a^s Londres 8. de Diz^{bre} de 1789.

Exmo. S^{or}

MARTIN NAVARRO.

[*Rubricado*]

[*Dirección:*] Exmo S^{or} B^o Fr. Dⁿ Antonio Valdés y Bazan.

XIV. DICTAMEN DE DIEGO DE GARDOQUI SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE LA LUISIANA.

[Madrid, *ca.* Julio de 1790]

Está sabiamente dicho que el remedio de los males de la Luisiana és mui difícil, y la considero tanto, que es preciso partir por el principio de que el Rey tendra que sacrificar su ynteres en qualquiera plan que se forme, por no dar lugar a las consecuencias que tambien van indicadas.

Querer justificar á sus habitantes afirmando que és despreciable el Comercio ylicito que alla se hace, és chocar contra hechos notorios, y que si fuera necesario añadiría nuevas pruebas, sobre las

about. The first stuffs came this week, and all the rest in due time. I suppose they will be able to go in the first ship that sails for Bilbao after the 25th. It would have been the natural thing for me to begin my journey at the same time, in order to enter by way of Barcelona, examine its factories and see which of them might be suited to this purpose, in the light of the price-lists that I have; picking up on my way through St. Étienne, France, the guns which I ordered [there].¹⁰⁸ For the purpose, however, of acquiring some knowledge of matters that cannot be uninteresting to my nation and especially to your Excellency's department, it is advisable for me to remain here several months, at least for the duration of the rigorous winter season. If this meets with your Excellency's approval, I beg that you will give orders to have me informed to that effect, since otherwise I shall hold myself in readiness to begin my journey at the expiration of the time within which a reply might reasonably be expected. In the meanwhile, I am going out to visit the factories at Birmingham and Manchester in order not to lose an instant's time in the important objects of the service.

May our Lord Preserve your Excellency many years. London, December 8, 1789.

Most Excellent Sir,

MARTÍN NAVARRO.

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Bailío Fray Don Antonio Valdés y Bazán.

XIV. OPINION OF DIEGO DE GARDOQUI ON THE COMMERCE OF LOUISIANA.¹⁰⁹

[Madrid, *ca.* July, 1790]

It has been wisely said that it is very difficult to remedy the ills of Louisiana, and I consider it so difficult that it is necessary to begin with the principle that the king will have to sacrifice his interest in whatever plan may be drawn up, in order to give no occasion for the consequences that are also indicated.

To seek to justify its inhabitants [*i.e.*, of Louisiana] by declaring that the illicit commerce carried on there is insignificant,¹¹⁰ is to struggle against notorious facts, and if it were necessary I

convincentes que di a S.M. quando la desvergüenza de los transgresores me obligó á atajar aquel daño de la extraccion de plata, á pesar de hallarme en un pais sediento de ella, y sin convenios sobre que fundarme.

Ni es extraño que le haia, porque quien recorra noticias, de esta clase de establecimientos, hallara que sus principios se fundan; sobre lo que cuentan sacar de nuestras ricas posesiones, a donde llegan los generos mui recargados desde España.

La Situacion de la Luisiana se presta como pocas, y sus habitantes en gran parte se componen de gente expatriada de varios Reinos por desgracias yrregulares; con que si á esta se añade la vezindad de Yngleses y Americanos que tiene en el pais interior, parece que nada tiene de extraño.

Por estas razones conviene dirixir nuestras ideas á minorarle, y conciliarlos con nuestro Comercio Español por medios suaves y lisongeros.

Cre[e] mi cortedad que seria vtil el libertar sus frutos y efectos y los nuestros, de todo derecho de extraccion y introduccion entre aquella Provincia y los puertos de España sin limitacion, asi como el que pudiesen extraerlos desde estos, para los mercados extrangeros en Buques nuestros, sin recargo.

No me olvido que el Tabaco introducido segun expongo, podra causar algun recelo, pero concivo que tiene remedio facil, con permitirse que solo venga para extraerse, y que entre tanto se almacene con intervencion del Administrador de Rentas, en quien deben parar las llaves, hasta que su propietario lo quiera extraer, dando fianza de producir una tornaguia del Consul de España del puerto extrangero donde se desembarcare.

Por este medio se conseguia tambien, que si el Rey necesitase de este articulo, se hallava provisto para qualquiera urgencia.

Por estas gracias convendria prohibirse el Comercio de la Luisiana con nuestras posesiones de Yndias, (exceptuando la Havana cuia comunicacion és precisa) y aun con todas las Extrangeras de Europa y America, expirado el termino de la Cedula de 22. de Enero de 1782. contemporisando el que pudiesen llevar por nuestros

should add fresh proofs to the convincing proofs that I gave his Majesty when the shamelessness of the transgressors forced me to assail that evil of the exportation of specie,¹¹¹ despite the fact that I was in a country which thirsted for it and that I was without conventions on which to base my action.

It is not strange that this should be so, for whoever examines reports about this kind of settlements will find that their principles are founded upon what they expect to get out of our rich possessions, where goods from Spain arrive heavily surcharged.

The situation of Louisiana is exceptionally favorable to this, and its inhabitants consist for the most part of people expatriated from various kingdoms because of irregular misadventures; so that if we add to this the propinquity of the English and Americans who hold the interior region, it appears that there is nothing strange about it.

For these reasons, it is expedient to direct our ideas toward diminishing it and reconciling them to our Spanish commerce by mild and agreeable measures.

To my limited understanding it would seem advantageous to exempt their produce and articles, as well as our own, from all export and import duties, without any limitation, between that province and the ports of Spain, and also to permit them to export these articles from the latter in our ships for foreign ports without any impost.

I do not forget that the tobacco imported in the manner that I have indicated might cause some uneasiness, but I believe that there is an easy remedy, which would be to permit it to be brought only for the purpose of re-exportation, pending which it should be stored under the supervision of the *Administrador de Rentas*,¹¹² who should retain the keys until the owner wishes to re-export it; and the latter should give security to show a landing certificate from the Spanish consul of the foreign port where it was to be unloaded.

In this way, there would also be the advantage that, if the king had need of this article, there would be a supply for any emergency.

In making these concessions it would be expedient to prohibit commerce between Louisiana and our other possessions in the Indies (except Havana, communication with which is essential), and even all foreign countries both in Europe and America¹¹³ upon the expiration of the *cédula* of January 22, 1782, temporizing by permitting them to bring, by way of our ports and in our ships, the

puertos y en nuestros Buques los generos extranjeros de que carecemos pagando los derechos correspondientes.

Para que no falten los Articulos necesarios para los regalos de los Yndios, se podra valer de algun Comerciante honrrado que los acopie y remita con la maior economia de cuenta de la Real Hazienda encargandole al mismo tiempo que hiciese pruebas de los vinos de España, particularmente de los de Rioxa, que creo son los que mas se asimilan al de Burdeos en suavidad, color, y poco cuerpo, como se nota en los vltimamente beneficiados por Dⁿ [*en blanco*] de que hai muestras en Madrid.

El mismo comicionado podia encargarse de fomentar el que en nuestras Fabricas se imitasen las muestras de los generos que se han traído, y se remitiesen al Nuevo Orleans, y que diese parte del efecto de estos ensaios.

En Palencia y Burgos harian las mantas para los Yndios á precios moderados.

Se pudiera fomentar por la Real Marina la introduccion de los Betunes.

Si el Arroz abunda tanto como lo expone Navarro, se podra pro-hivir la introduccion en España de todo el Extrangero, y permitir libre de derechos el de la Luisiana incluyendo ygualmente el permiso para la Havana.

Se ha de suponer que ni aun estas gracias satisfaran completamente á los habitantes de aquella Provincia, cortandoles la comunicacion con nuestras posesiones y las de los Extrangeros, con quienes desde sus antepasados hacen un contrabando que nos es tan perjudicial, pero no considero riesgo durante la paz, y si esta se interrumpiese convendra mucho conciliar otros intereses con los Estados Unidos.

Los Ministros del Rey en el Nuevo Orleans pueden ataxar la maior parte del Contrabando y se debe prevenirles que seran tratados severamente si lo omitiesen.

La escala de qualquiera embarcacion de la Luisiana que conduzca frutos, que no encuentren venta en nuestros puertos y quiera llevarlos a los mercados extrangeros, debe ser sin trabas para que no perescan por la dilacion, ni recargos.

Me persuado que faltando la comunicacion de nuestras Yndias a aquella Provincia, seran menores sus necesidades de Caldos extrangeros, y que sobstituiran los nuestros con maior facilidad, asi de pasto como de postres.

Solo viene de los
Estados Unidos.

foreign goods that we lack, subject to the payment of the proper duties.

In order that there may be no lack of articles necessary for Indian presents, some honorable merchant might be employed to collect and send them with rigid economy at the expense of the royal treasury; and he should also be charged at the same time to experiment with Spanish wines, especially those of Rioja, which I believe resemble Bordeaux wine most closely in sweetness, color and lightness, as is the case with those recently improved by Don [*blank*],¹¹⁴ of which there are samples at Madrid.

The same agent might be commissioned to promote the reproduction in our factories of the samples of goods that have been obtained and send them to New Orleans; and to report the result of these efforts.¹¹⁵

In Palencia and Burgos blankets for the Indians would be made at reasonable prices.

The importation of pitch could be promoted by the royal navy.

If rice is so abundant as Navarro states, its importation into Spain from all foreign countries can be prohibited and that of Louisiana admitted duty free, including the same permission for Havana.¹¹⁶

It comes from the United States alone.

It must be presumed that not even these concessions will completely satisfy the inhabitants of that province [*i.e.*, Louisiana] if we sever communications between them and our own and foreign possessions, with which from the time of their ancestors they have carried on a smuggling trade which is so prejudicial to us; but I think there will be no danger in time of peace, and if this is interrupted it will be very advisable to seek the friendship of the United States by other measures.

The officials of the king in New Orleans can suppress the greater part of the contraband trade and they should be warned that they will be dealt with severely if they fail to do so.¹¹⁷

Any ship bringing produce from Louisiana which touches at a Spanish port, and, finding no sale in our ports wishes to take its cargo to foreign markets, should be free from hindrances, lest the produce be ruined by delay or surcharges.

I am persuaded that, in the absence of communication between our Indies and that province, the latter will require less in the way of foreign liquors and that ours, the ordinary as well as the choicer varieties, can be substituted with greater ease.

Finalmente no me parece objeto esencial la diferencia de medida, porque para quien no pueda comprar una de nuestras Pipas, tendra una ó dos Tercerolas de que usamos y se llevan en todo Buque para aprovechar los huecos donde no cabe la pipa.

[*Hay una rúbrica*]

Despues de lo que precede hé averiguado que en la vltima guerra dio el S^r Marques de Sonora una comicion, (ygual a la de Navarro) á una casa de Comercio de Bilbao, aunque en cantidad maior, pues fue una carga entera para un Buque, para el Comercio de la Luisiana y pais interior.

La tal casa llevada de un celo patriotico hizo venir de su cuenta algunos fuziles de la Fabrica de S^t Ettiene, y mantas de Ynglaterra segun el gusto de los Yndios, y haviendo remitido los primeros a las Fabricas de Placencia y Barcelona, respondieron que los harian.

Lo mismo sucedio con las mantas en Palencia, sin que en unos y otros fuese grande la diferencia de precio, pero medió luego la negociacion de M^r Maxent para que lo hiciese directamente.

Si se huviera seguido aquel sistema, creo que nuestras fabricas nos huvieran surtido hace años de todo lo necesario, porque por mas que los extrangeros ó sus parciales nos los exageren, no veo dificultad.

[*Hay una rúbrica*]

[Minuta de Valdés. Madrid, 28 de Julio de 1790.]

No hallo dificultad en que se adopte la proposicion de Gardoqui que conspira á lo mismo que há opinado la Junta de Estado en los antecede^{tes} q. constan del exped^{te} esto es, que se concedan las franquicias q. se proponen en los gen^s que introduzcan y extraigan de la Luisiana para los Puertos habilitados de España, y de estos á los de otras naciones en Europa con las precauciones que indica; y sobre todo que se repita el mismo ensayo q. determinó el s^r Marq^s de Sonora, por la propia casa de Bilbao que lo principió, pues tendrá ya mas conocimiento que otros en este comercio, y podrá entablarlo con mejor exito, con tál que estas providencias sean temporales, p^a q. pueda corregirse lo que demuestre la Experiencia que conviene, y Sobre todo és preciso que haya célo y desinterés en los Gefes de la Luisiana p^a vencér las dificultades que és regular se

Finally, I do not regard as vital the difference of measurement, for anyone who cannot buy one of our pipes will have one or two tierces such as we use and as are carried in every ship in order to fill up the space that will not hold a pipe.

[*Rubric*]

Since writing the above, I have learned that in the last war the Marqués de Sonora gave a commission (like that of Navarro) to a commercial house of Bilbao, though on a larger scale, since it was for a whole ship's cargo, for the commerce of Louisiana and the interior country.

This house, animated by patriotic zeal, ordered at its expense several guns from the factory at St. Étienne and some blankets from England of the kind the Indians like. The former were sent to the factories of Placencia and Barcelona, which replied that they would make them.

The same thing happened with the blankets in Palencia, without any great difference in price in either case; but after that came the negotiation of Monsieur Maxent so that it might be done direct.¹¹⁸

If that system had been followed, I believe that our factories would have supplied us years ago with all that was necessary, for, no matter how much foreigners and their sympathizers may exaggerate, I see no difficulty in it.

[*Rubric*]

[Memorandum by Valdés. Madrid, July 28, 1790.¹¹⁹]

I see no objection in adopting Gardoqui's proposition, which is in accordance with the opinion expressed by the Junta de Estado in the antecedents, as shown by the *expediente*; that is, that the exemptions proposed therein be granted for goods imported and exported from Louisiana to the habilitated ports of Spain and thence to other European countries, with the precautions indicated; and above all, that the same effort which was initiated by the Marqués de Sonora be repeated through the agency of the same house in Bilbao which began it, since it will already be better acquainted than others with this commerce and can undertake it with better success. The understanding is that these measures shall be temporary, so that such corrections may be made as experience shall prove expedient. Above all it is essential that the chiefs of Louisiana shall be zealous and disinterested in order to overcome

presenten, y p^a proponer libres de preocupaciones, lo q^e convenga alterar. Madrid 28 de Julio de 1790.

VALDÉS.

[*Rubricado*]

[*En la carpeta se lee:*] Gardoqui Madrid 28 de Julio de 1790.
(Expediente.)

XV. DESCRIPCIÓN DEL COMERCIO DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL ESCRITA POR LUIS FATIO.

La Habana, 17 de Noviembre de 1790

[Pág. 1 y 2 *en blanco*]

[Pág. 3]

†

Descripcion d^l Comercio de la Florida

Hablaré en esto de todos los productos, y frutos que aora se hace, lo que se puede hacer, y el modo de fomentarle.

MADERA DE PINO

La madera del Pino que se hace aora consiste unicamente en Tablas, alfardas, y vigas, ó para el uso de los mismos Abitantes, ó para el consumo de la R^l Hacienda, para reparo de las Casas, y otros edificios del Rey, pero se podia sacar de ella si ubiese Poblacion, bastante madera suficiente para hacer un Comercio mui extencibo en todas las Clases arriba dichas, y tambien en arboladuras y masteleros; para fomentar esto, se necesita que despues de permitir la introduccion de Havitantes industriosos en el Pais; tambien se habilite los Rios de S^{ta} Maria, y Sⁿ Juan, que son en la parte que nosotros poseemos adonde se pueden hacer por aora la mayor cantidad de Maderas, y de no haver hecho esto, es la razon que ninguno puede por aora hacer este Comercio con ventaja como lo he experimentado por la razon que Sⁿ Agustin de la Florida es aora el unico Puerto havilitado en la Provincia y que como cargazonas de Madera no se hallan en dño Puerto, las Embarcaciones que quieran cargar madera estan presisadas de entrar primero en Sⁿ Agustin, y como esta es aora barra con poca agua [pág. 4] y asi cuando una Embarcacion entra no se sabe quando podrá salir, por los Vientos, y Mareas; esto causa muchos gastos que no puede

Habilitar los Rios
S^{ta} Maria y Sⁿ
Juan.

d^l P^{to} de Sⁿ Agⁿ
no sale ninguna
Madera.

the difficulties which will probably arise and to give unprejudiced advice in regard to the changes that may be expedient. Madrid, July 28, 1790.

VALDÉS.

[*Rubric*]

[*On the wrapper it reads:*] Gardoqui. Madrid, July 28, 1790. (Expediente.)

XV. DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMERCE OF EAST FLORIDA,

WRITTEN BY LUIS FATIO.¹²⁰

Havana, November 17, 1790

[Pp. 1 and 2 *blank*]

[P. 3]

†

Description of the commerce of Florida

In this I shall speak of all the products and fruits now produced, those that can be produced, and the way to encourage this.

PINE LUMBER

The pine lumber produced now consists only of boards, beams, and joists, either for the use of the inhabitants themselves or for that of the government for repairing houses and other buildings belonging to the king; but, with a larger population, enough lumber could be obtained to carry on a very extensive commerce in all the varieties mentioned above and also in masts, spars, and top-masts. To promote this it is necessary that, after permitting the introduction of industrious settlers into the country, the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers shall be improved, for they are in that part of our possessions in which it is at present possible to obtain the largest quantity of lumber. That this has not been done is the reason why no one is now able to carry on this commerce profitably, as I have found by experience. The reason is that St. Augustine, Florida, is now the only habilitated port in the province; and as cargoes of lumber are not found in the said port, ships desiring to load lumber are compelled to enter first at St. [p. 4] Augustine, and since there is now very little water over the bar and since when a ship enters, it does not know when it will be able to leave, because of the winds and tides, this causes heavy expenses which are not

Improve the St.
Marys and St.
Johns rivers.

No lumber goes out
of the port of St.
Augustine.

El Río S^{ta} Maria
es capaz de admitir
fragatas y urcas
que no pueden en
S^a Ag^a

no tiene salida la
madera de Pino en
la Havana, si no
en Cortes de Caja.

pagar el poco valor, y mucho bulto de una cargazon de Madera, ademas que el Río S^{ta} Maria puede admitir, Fragatas, y Urcas, que son los mas conducentes para este Trafico, y de estos no se pueden serbir nos otros porque no hai agua bastante. En la Barra de San Agustin por consiguiente es prohibido el uso de Barcos Grandes, que solo puede haser una Provincia rica. Tambien será necesario para fomentar las salidas de nuestros frutos que lo que no tiene consumo en los Dominios de S. M. sea permitido salir para otros Puertos adonde se pueden vender (estas razones son suficientes sobre todos los otros puntos de Comercio y no es necesario repetir).

MADERA DE CIPRES

Del Cipres se puede hacer Cortes de Cajas, Tablas, Palos grandes, Canobas y Tejamanies, con esto ultimo se cubren los Techos en Florida, en los Estados unidos y en las Yslas Ynglesas, y Francesas adonde se benden mui bien. Del Laurel colorado; y del Nogal se sacan Tablas, y otras maderas para muebles, y igual a la Caoba; de esta ultima madera tambien se usa mucho para baquetas de fuciles, y Cabos de Herramienta de Carpinteros, y Labradores.

Madera Colorada
de Laurel, de
Nogar.

ENCINA

La Encina es reconocida por la mejor madera de construccion que hai, y está en mucha estimaⁿ en la America del Norte, como tambien en los Astilleros Franceses.

[Pág. 5]

SAVINA

La Savina es una Madera esquisita, y incorruptible, mui buena para obras muertas de Embarcaciones Grandes, y para construccion de Embarcaciones pequeñas y ligeras como las de las Yslas Bermudas. ademas de esto en [*sic*: es] una madera mui buena para forrar muebles, como Bibliotecas, Guardarropas, ó Escaparates; su olor no permite chinches, cucarachas, ó otros insectos [*sic*] malos que por lo rregular se crían dentro.

FRESNO

Del Fresno se hacen Remos, Espeques, y todas otras cosas que necesitan de estar ligeras, y fuertes.

ROBLE

Del Roble del Pais se hacen Duelas para Pipas &^a para poner

met by the small value and great bulk of a cargo of lumber. Moreover, the St. Marys River is large enough for frigates and doggers, which are the best adapted to this traffic, and we cannot use them [*i.e.*, at St. Augustine], for there is not water enough. Consequently, the use of large ships is prohibited at the bar of St. Augustine, and yet these alone can make a province rich. In order to provide an outlet for our produce it will also be necessary to permit whatever is not saleable in the dominions of His Majesty to be sent to other ports where it can be sold (these reasons are sufficient with regard to all the other commercial considerations, and it is not necessary to repeat [them]).

The St. Marys River is large enough for frigates and doggers, while St. Augustine is not.

Pine lumber has no sale at Havana, except boards for boxes.

CYPRESS LUMBER

Boxes, boards, mainmasts, *canobas* and shingles can be made of cypress. With the last roofs are covered in Florida, in the United States, and in the English and French islands, where they have a very good sale. From red laurel and walnut are made boards and other lumber for furniture, equal to mahogany. Of this last wood a great deal is used also for ramrods and for handles for carpenters' tools and agricultural implements.

Red laurel and walnut wood.

LIVE OAK

Live oak is recognized as the best lumber for construction in existence, and it is highly esteemed in North America, as well as in French shipyards.

[P. 5]

SABINE

Sabine is an exquisite wood and does not decay. It is excellent for the upper works of large ships and for the construction of small, light ships, such as those of the Bermuda Islands. Besides this, it is a very good wood for lining furniture such as bookcases, wardrobes, or cupboards. Its odor keeps out bedbugs, cockroaches, or other vermin that usually breed inside of such furniture.

ASH

From the ash are made oars, handspikes, and everything else that has to be light and strong.

OAK

From the oak of this country are made staves for pipes and so

aguardiente, vino, ó miel de Purga: ademas de estos varios generos de Maderas; ai muchas otras calidades todas buenas, de barios usos, y necesidad, pero por falta de los fomentos arriba mencionados por aora no se hace mas que para el uso de esta misma Provincia.

RECINA, BREA RUBIA, Y ESPIRITU DE TREMENTINA

Alquitran, y Brea.

De los Pinos vivos se saca recina, Brea rubia, y Espiritu de Trementina buena para los Pintores para hacer barnis, y para la manufactura de Jabon [pág. 6] De los Pinos muertos y secos se puede hacer Alquitran, y brea bastante para toda la Marina de España; si el Rey lo comprara, y por falta de esto no lo hacen porque tiene poca salida.

ARROZ

En el Rio Nasau hai Tierras bastante para producir arroz en igual cantidad a lo que se saca de la Carolina del Sur, objeto de Comercio considerable, y que se fomentará facilmente al instante que los Hacendados Principales que viven en las Provincias limitofas sabran que pueden venir con sus negros, y que se lo daran gratis las Tierras convenables que se hallan en barias partes de las Provincias, pero particularmente en el Rio Nasau como he dicho.

MAIS, SENTENO, Y TABACO

Comprar el Rey
el Tabaco.

Aora los Havitantes siembran arroz, mais, senteno, y Tabaco, no mas que lo que se puede gastar dentro de la misma Provincia, por no tener alguna salida y como hai pocos havitantes, hai poco consumo; Estos ramos aumentaran su balor, y consumo a proporcion de los Abitantes si la Provincia se puebla, y si el Rey compraba el Tabaco como lo hace en la Havana y Luisiana, entonces muchos se dedicarian à este objeto.

ALGODON

La mayor parte de los Havitantes del Rio Sⁿ Juan, Nasau, y S^{ta} Maria, recogen todos los años [pág. 7] bastante algodón que hilan, y Tejen para hacer lo que es necesario para vestir sus familias, pero el poco Comercio que hai es la causa que todo lo que se compra de afuera, es mui caro. Esta Gente no pueden trabajar tan barato, y a precios iguales a los que viven en Tierras adonde las causas [*sic*: cosas?] de primera necesidad se hallan mas baratos [*sic*], y aora no haviendo mercantes que compran el algodón; por esto no se dedican á esto aunque se sabe mui bien que es la causa que

forth for holding rum, wine, or molasses. Besides these various kinds of wood there are many others, all of good quality and for various uses and needs; but for lack of the facilities mentioned above, no present use is made of them except for this province itself.

RESIN, PITCH, AND SPIRITS OF TURPENTINE

From the live pines are obtained resin, pitch, and spirits of turpentine useful for painters, for making varnish and for manufacturing soap. [p. 6] From the dead and dry pines one can make enough tar and pitch for the whole Spanish navy, if the king would buy it; but for lack of this, none is made, as it has little sale.

Tar and Pitch.

RICE

On the Nassau River there is enough land to produce as much rice as is obtained from South Carolina, an important commercial item and one that will be easily fostered the moment the principal planters who live in the neighboring provinces learn that they can come with their negroes and that they will receive gratis suitable lands, which are found in various parts of the provinces, but especially on the Nassau River, as I have said.

MAIZE, RYE, AND TOBACCO

At present the inhabitants plant only so much rice, maize, rye, and tobacco as they can dispose of in the province itself, as it has no outlet; and as the number of the inhabitants is small the consumption is small. These crops will increase in value and consumption in proportion to the inhabitants if the province is peopled; and if the king bought the tobacco, as is the case in Havana and Louisiana, many people would then devote themselves to this object.

The king to buy the tobacco.

COTTON

The greater part of the inhabitants on the St. Johns, Nassau, and St. Marys Rivers pick enough cotton every year [p. 7] (which they spin and weave) to provide the necessary clothing for their families; but the little commerce in it is owing to the fact that everything purchased abroad is very dear. These people cannot work so cheaply and for the same amount as those who live in countries where the articles of prime necessity are obtained more cheaply, and at present they have no merchants to buy their cotton. For this reason they do not devote themselves to it, although it is

ha hecho la Ysla de Providencia rica. Toda la Provincia es buena para esto, y mas al Sur es mejor y por consiguiente las Tierras nombradas las mosquitas y de ella hasta los Cayos se puede llenar de Gente que se dedicaran á esto.

TRIGO, CAÑAMO, Y LINO

El Trigo, Cañamo, y Lino, se ha experimentado en diferentes partes de la Provincia y la resulta es q^e en la Parte de la Provincia que nosotros posehemos no es buena para estas cosechas, pero al mismo T^{po} se adbierte que en la parte que los Yndios tienen hai muchos parajes buenos para esto, y que quando esta Provincia esté mas Poblada será mui facil ó hechar los Yndios fuera, ó comprarles las Tierras que se nesecitan.

ANIL

El añil es una yerba natural a la Tierra que viene bien a todas partes sin cultivo, y en T^{po} de los Yngleses havia muchos havitantes que se dedicaban á esto y hacian añil igual a lo de Guatimala, y lo bendian en Londres a precios iguales; Para fomentar este Ramo de Comercio aora perdido será preciso dar a los Havitantes informacion de lo que consu-[pág. 8] me nuestros Dominios en esto, y sino hai consumo bastante que se permita enbiar adonde lo ay.

CAÑA DE ASUCAR, MIEL Y AGUARDIENTE

La Caña de Asucar viene mui bien en esta Provincia, y hai abitantes que tienen en sus Huertos bastantes para hacer aora miel para su uso, y en T^{po} de los Yngleses se havian empezado dos ó tres Yngenios en los Mosquitos, y en el Rio Aip que daba asucar mui Blanca, y de la mejor calidad, y de la Cabeza de d^{ño} Rio asta el Cabo de la Florida, todas las Tierras altas estan buenas para esto, pero como no ai gente establecida en dichos parajes ninguno se atrebe à arriesgar sus Negros, y bienes a las resultas de los Yndios, y de los Corzarios, y Picarones de las Yslas de Bahama que abundan en todas estas Costas. Si se permitiese establecer en estas partes y enbiar un Destacamento de 20 Hombres en las Poblaciones antiguas de los Mosquitos, presto [se: *crossed out in original*] empearia à Poblarse haviendo en Sⁿ Agustin de la Florida familias de Mahoneses acostumbrados a vivir allá, que no esperan mas que el permiso para hir a cultivar las Tierras, criar abejas para hacer

very well known that this is what has made the Island of Providence rich. The whole province is good for this, and farther south it is better, and consequently the country called *Las Mosquitas* and thence to the keys can be filled with people who will devote themselves to this.

WHEAT, HEMP, AND FLAX

Wheat, hemp, and flax have been tried in different parts of the province, with the result that the part of the province which we possess is not good for these crops; but at the same time it is noted that in the part which the Indians hold there are many localities good for this, and that when the population of this province is larger it will be very easy either to drive the Indians out or to purchase from them the lands that are needed.

INDIGO

Indigo is an indigenous plant in that country, and grows well everywhere without cultivation, and in the time of the English there were many inhabitants who devoted themselves to this and made indigo as good as that of Guatemala and sold it in London at the same price. In order to foment this branch of commerce, now ruined, it will be necessary to give the inhabitants information concerning its consumption [p. 8] in our dominions, and, if there is not consumption enough, to send it where there is.

SUGAR CANE, SYRUP, AND RUM

Sugar cane grows very well in this province, and there are people who now have enough of it in their gardens to make syrup for their use. In the time of the English two or three mills had been begun at the Mosquitos and on the Aip River which produced sugar that was very white and of the best quality. From the head of the said river to the Florida Cape all the higher lands are good for this, but as there are no people settled in those localities no one ventures to risk his negroes and property to the inroads of the Indians, pirates, and rogues from the Bahamas who infest all these coasts. If it were permitted to settle in that region and post a detachment of twenty men in the former towns of the Mosquitos, it would soon begin to be peopled, for there are in St. Augustine, Florida, families from Mahon who are accustomed to living there and only await permission to go to cultivate the land, raise bees for their honey and

Honey and
beeswax.

miel, y Cera, coger Pescado para salar, y hacer aceite para bender en esta Ysla; abiendo bastante Pescado en la Costa para hacer Pesqueria mui grande de toda especie de Pescado [pág. 9] y de mui buena Calidad, y este principio de Establecimiento en poco seria el principio de uno de los mas considerables de estas Tierras.

COMERCIO CON LOS YNDIOS

De esta Provincia sale cada año 150,000 Pellejos de Benado que valen uno con otro a peso cada uno entregado en la Europa, estos Yndios los traen ó a la Ciudad ò a los almacenes de los Mercantes en varias partes de la Provincia, y son pagados en Generos que son aguardiente, miel de Purga, asucar, Café, y lo demas en Plata labrada Ynglesa, y todas otras especies de Generos Yngleses. Este Comercio en los años pasados se hiva disminuyendo poco a poco por la razon que no abia mas que una Casa Ynglesa que gozaba del permiso de Traficar con dichos Yndios, y como dicha Casa tenia idea de establecerse en las Partes Americanas, por esto hasta la fin del año ultimo pasado estaban sus almacenes bacios, y muy mal proveidos por esto se determinaban muchos Yndios a buscar otras salidas para sus Pellejos, y fue una de las razones principales para que determinaran dichos Yndios a buscar Paz con los Americanos por haverles permitido la Yntroduccion, libre de derechos de todas Especies de manufacturas para su uso hasta el valor de ciento cinquenta mil pesos fuertes.

En este caso sino tienen en nuestra Provincia los mismos Pribilegios, todo este Comercio se hirá a la parte americana; Porque la Peninsula de Florida no es dibidida de la parte Americana que por un rio mui angosto a su origen, y es el mismo Camino à los Yndios de llebar sus Pellejos a nosotros, como a los Americanos, y que aora [pág. 10] los generos de los Yndios no se pueden introducir por los muchos riesgos de Decomisos, y gastos, no abiendo mas que la dña Casa Ynglesa que puede introducir generos abiertamente en la Provincia, y esto lo hacen sin pagar derechos, y como no tienen ribales, ponen á todos los generos los precios que quieren y mui subidos, ademas que todos estos Pellejos van por aora en derecho à Yngalaterra, y si los Basallos d^l Rey gozaran de igual Pribilegio buscarian modo de embiarlos à España, y vender las manufacturas nuestras, de las quales hai muchas buenas para este Comercio, como cintas de Lana de varios Colores, mantas, y Paños bastos, sombreros de lana comun, cerasas ordinarias, y Plata labrada. Si nosotros tubiesemos el mismo Pribilegio que la Nueva Orleans de ir

wax, catch fish to salt, and make oil to be sold on this island [*i.e.*, Cuba]. There are enough fish on that coast to support a very large fishery of all kinds of fish [p. 9] of very good quality, and that infant settlement would soon be the beginning of one of the most important in this country.

TRADE WITH THE INDIANS

From this province there are exported every year 150,000 deer-skins, which are worth on the average one peso each delivered in Europe. The Indians bring them either to the city or to one of the stores of the merchants in different parts of the province, and receive in payment such goods as rum, cane syrup, sugar, and coffee, and the rest in English silver trinkets and all other kinds of English goods. This trade has been diminishing gradually in recent years because only one English house¹²¹ had permission to trade with the said Indians and because the said house was planning to establish itself in American territory.¹²² Hence, up to the end of last year its stores were empty and very poorly stocked. Consequently, many Indians decided to seek other markets for their skins. This was one of the chief reasons that led the Indians aforesaid to seek peace with the Americans since they had permitted the importation, duty free, of all kinds of manufactured goods for their use up to the value of 150,000 *pesos fuertes*.¹²³

In this case, unless they have the same privilege in our province, all of this commerce will go to American territory, because the peninsula of Florida is divided from American territory only by a river which is very narrow at its source and the road by which the Indians bring their skins is the same to us as to the Americans; and because at present [p. 10] Indian goods cannot be introduced on account of the many dangers of confiscation and expenses, for only the said English house can introduce goods openly into the province, and it does so without paying duties. Since it has no competitors, it fixes the price of goods to suit itself and at very high rates. Besides this, all these skins at present go directly to England. If the king's subjects enjoyed the same privilege they would seek some means of sending them to Spain and of selling our manufactures, many of which are good for this commerce, such as woolen sashes of various colors, blankets, coarse woolen cloth, cheap woolen hats, common chintz cloth, and silver trinkets. If we had the same privilege as New Orleans of obtaining goods from France or the French

a buscar generos en Francia, ó en las Yslas Francesas, ó otra parte pagando los derechos al Rey seria mejor para nosotros, y tambien para el interes de N. Soberano. Aora no se permite introduccion de generos de ninguna parte sino los de la Havana y de esta no se lleba ninguna ropa, ni tanpoco se halla en ella las ropas necesarias para nuestras familias, y Negros, y combeniente a nuestro Clima frio y como es indispensable, y necesario vestirse la Gente se exponen a gastos y riesgos de descomiso por lo que si pagaban derechos moderados al Rey Nño. Señor lo harian con gusto. Otra razon p^r que el Comercio con los Yndios no es tã bueno como podia ser es que antes de la llegada de Nuestro Nuevo Gobernador no era permitido a ninguno que a la misma Casa Ynglesa arriba dicha, de Comprar de los Yndios Pellejos, Caballos, Ganado ni otra cosa mas que la Carne de Venado solamente este [pág. 11] monopodio nos á echo un perjuicio grande a la Provincia pero dⁿ Juan de Nepomuceno de Quesada luego que tomó las informaciones necesarias de la Contaduria, y se berificó que dicha Casa no tenia tal pribilegio esclusibo de Comerciar, solamente el de introducir generos y atendiendo à esto el Gobernador por aora a permitido a todos de Comprar Pellejos, y ganados de los Yndios, pero por falta de tener generos en cambio se à hecho poco Comercio, y son pocas las bentajas hasta que aiga modo mas seguro de Traficar.

GANADOS

En Tiempo de los Yngleses antes de la Guerra habia mucho ganado en la Provincia pero por causa de la Guerra se consumio mucho y hasta aora no se pudo aumentar por la razon que en Tpo del antiguo Gobernador no era permitido la compra de ganado a los Yndios (que tienen muchos) solamente a la misma Casa Ynglesa como arriba he dicho. Aora bajo la proteccion d^l Señor Quesada se a acabado todas especies de monipodios, y no se necesita mas para fomentar eso que de tener generos para comprar dicho ganado para que se aumente, y Pobladores bastantes para hacer ramo de Comercio, las Cosas siguientes que son.

CARNE SALADA, CUEROS, SEBO, Y MANTEQUILLA

La Carne salada, Cueros, sebo, Mantequilla y Queso &^a lo mismo se puede decir de la Carne de Puerco salada, y manteca, los Pastos de allá son esquisitos, y los Animales se crían todo el año, aunque se necesite abrigarlos ó darles de Comer [pág. 12] en el Ynvierno, asi

islands or elsewhere on the payment of duties to the king, it would be better for us and also for the interests of our sovereign. At present we are not permitted to import goods from any place but Havana, and no clothing is brought from this place, nor indeed does it have the clothing necessary for our families and negroes and suitable to our cold climate; and since the people necessarily have to be clothed they are exposed to the expenses and risks of confiscation, whereas if they could pay moderate duties to our lord the king, they would do so willingly. Another reason why the commerce with the Indians is not so good as it might be is that before the arrival of our new governor no one except the above-mentioned English house was permitted to buy skins, horses, cattle or anything else from the Indians except deer meat. This [p. 11] monopoly alone did us of the province a great injury, but as soon as Don Juan de Nepomuceno de Quesada obtained the necessary information from the bureau of audits and learned that the said house had no such exclusive trading privilege, but only that of importing goods, he has in view of this fact permitted every one for the present to buy skins and cattle of the Indians;¹²⁴ but for lack of goods to exchange this commerce has not amounted to much, and the advantages will be few until there is some safer way of trading.

CATTLE

In the time of the English before the war there were many cattle in the province, but because of the war many of them were consumed and hitherto it has not been possible to increase their number for the reason that in the time of the former governor no one was permitted to purchase cattle from the Indians (who have many) but only from the same English house, as I have said above. Now, under the protection of Señor Quesada, an end has been made of all monopolies of this kind, and all that is necessary to develop this is to have goods wherewith to purchase the said cattle so that their number may be increased, and enough settlers to make a branch of commerce of the following articles, namely:

SALT MEAT, HIDES, TALLOW, AND BUTTER

Salt meat, hides, tallow, butter, cheese, etc.; the same may be said of salt pork and lard. The pastures there are exquisite and the animals breed throughout the year, although it is necessary to shelter and feed them [p. 12] during the winter. Likewise, in time

tambien en Tpo se aumentara la Cria de Caballos, la sola salida que tiene aora es poca y oculta por que pasando el Rio Sta Maria a la parte Americana allá se embarcan abordo de las Embarcaciones de los Americanos que lo lleban á las Yslas Francesas, y Ynglesas que por falta de la Licencia necesaria lo quitan à nosotros.

PESQUERIAS

Toda la Costa maritima abunda en Pescado en cantidad suficiente para ocupar todas las Familias de Pescadores que hallaràn sitios bastantes. El Pescado que se coge es tan superior para salar, y hacer aceite. Las Tortugas son en numero mui crecido, y por falta de no tener gente se halla parada y perdida esta pesqueria. Las Embarcaciones y gente de Providencia son los que lleban este beneficio de nuestra pesqueria para embiarle a otros Estados.

GUZANO DE SEDA

Si ubiera Poblacion bastante se podrian criar gusanos de seda que he experimentado bien mui bien, y todas nuestras Tierras estan llenas de Arboles de Moral que dichos gusanos comen.

OLIBARES, ACEITUNAS, Y ACEITE

Las olibas producen mucho, y en mi Hacienda he cogido iguales a las de Europa, por consiguiente [pág. 13] el aceite se podria haser como en Europa.

DE LOS CAYOS DE LA FLORIDA

Si en los Cayuelos llamados Cayo Rodrigz y Tabonas que son al Sur de uno de los Cayos del cabo de Florida nombrado cayo largo hubiera un Destacamento de Tropa con obligacion de cuidar de un farol de noche, seria de mui grande utilidad a nosotros para impedir a todos estos Corsarios de Nueva Providencia, de aprovecharse de estos Puertos, adonde aora an hecho establecimiento y corrales para pescar la Tortuga, y adonde se abrigan para esperar los naufragios de los Barcos que en desembocando la Canal se barran en los arrecifes que estan en frente de dichos Cayuelos; se impedirá asi el pasage de muchos de estos Contrabandistas que allá se esconden para esperar Tiempos oportunos para embiar sus contrabandos en esta Ysla.

Con el farol encendido de Noche una vez que será conocido de las Embarcaciones, el peligro de desembocar seria mucho menos. Este

the breeding of horses will increase. The only sale that they have now is small and clandestine, because after crossing the St. Marys River to the American side they are placed on board American ships which take them to the French and English islands, which deprive us of them for want of the necessary permission.

FISHERIES

The whole sea coast abounds with fish in sufficient quantities to occupy all the families of fishermen, who can find suitable locations. The fish caught are quite superior for salting and making oil. Tortoises exist in vast numbers; and yet for lack of people the fisheries are arrested and lost. It is the ships and people of Providence that get the profit from our fisheries and pass it on to other states.

SILK WORMS

If the population were large enough, it would be possible to raise silk worms, with which very successful experiments have been made. Our whole country is full of mulberry trees, which the said worms eat.

OLIVE TREES, OLIVES, AND OLIVE OIL

Olives grow abundantly, and I have gathered some on my plantation as good as those of Europe; consequently, [p. 13] olive oil could be made as in Europe.

CONCERNING THE FLORIDA KEYS

If a detachment of troops were stationed on the little keys known as Rodriguez Key and Tabonas Key (which lie south of one of the keys of Florida Cape called Key Largo), and were required to maintain a light at night, it would be a very great benefit to us in preventing all those pirates of New Providence from making use of those ports, where they have now made a settlement and corrals for tortoise fishing, and where they take shelter while waiting for ships to founder which, as they leave the channel have gone on the reefs opposite the said keys. Thus the way will be closed to many of those smugglers who hide there while awaiting favorable weather to send their contraband goods to this island [*i.e.*, Cuba].

With the signal lighted at night, once it is recognized by the ships the danger of the passage will be much lessened. This detachment

Destacamento seria un auxilio y modo de fomentar muchas familias industriosas en los Cayos que se aplicarian ó á pescar ó á hacer algodón y Café que no hai duda que bendran bien en los Cayos, Matacombé, y Hueso &ª (este ultimo Cayo Hueso [pág. 14] es al Norte de la Havana a la distancia de 25 leguas). Esto seria un fomento grande para la Florida por que aora todos los efectos de las embarcaciones perdidas van a la nueva Probidencia por estar vendida, y que entonces nosotros gozariamos del mismo beneficio que no es poco, y estos Cayos se llenarian de Gente industriosa, Marineros, y ciembre [*sic*] utiles en Tpo de Guerra.

El gasto de dicho destacamento se podria pagar mui bien imponiendo un derecho de algunos reales por cada Tonelada a cada Embarcacion que sale de Nuestros Puertos para Desembocar. Ultimamente si el Rey no quiere por aora hacer el gasto de embiar Destacamentos en los Cayos y que quieran fomentarlos hai otro modo de fomentarle. Y si solamente yo tubiera las facultades, y Licencias necesarias para vivir allá hacer comercio, y repartir dichos Cayos à los Pobladores que bendrian, pronto Hallaré gentes bastantes para Poblarlos, y con nuestras propias fuerzas defender nuestro Comercio contra las incusiones [*sic*] de los Piratas de Providencia, sin pedir otro premio que lo que mi serbicio merecerà despues de haverlo executado.

Havana à 17 de Nobiembre de 1790.

LUIS FATIO.

[*Rubricado*]

[Las páginas 15 y 16 *en blanco*]

XVI. DICTAMEN DE DIEGO DE GARDOQUI PARA LA FORMACIÓN DEL REGLAMENTO DE COMERCIO PARA LA Luisiana Y LAS FLORIDAS.

San Lorenzo, 12 de Octubre de 1791

[*Carpeta*.:] Dictamen de Dⁿ Diego de Gardoqui para la formacion del Reglam^{to} de Comercio p^a la Luisiana y Floridas.

†

Aunque yá habia dado mi dictamen sobre el Comercio de la Luisiana, examinado ahóra con nueva, y más profunda atencion, tomados otros conocimientos, y bien considerado todo, hallo varias cosas

would be an aid and a means of encouraging many industrious families on the keys, who would devote themselves either to fishing or to raising cotton and coffee, which will undoubtedly thrive on Matacombe, Hueso, and other keys. This last, Hueso Key, [p. 14] is twenty-five leagues north of Havana. This would be a great stimulus to Florida, because at present all the property of ships that are lost goes to New Providence to be sold, and because then we should be able to enjoy the same advantage, which is not small; and these keys would be filled with industrious people, sailors, and those always useful in time of war.

The cost of this detachment could very well be defrayed by imposing a duty of several *reales* per ton on every ship clearing from our ports and passing through the channel. Finally, if the king is unwilling for the present to incur the expense of sending detachments to the keys and if their development is desired, there are other means of developing them. And if I only had the powers and licenses necessary to live there, carry on commerce, and distribute the said keys among the immigrants who would come there, I should soon find enough people to settle them and with our own forces to defend our commerce against the incursions of the pirates of Providence, without asking any other reward than that which my service might merit after the work had been done.

Havana, November 17, 1790.

LUIS FATIO.¹²⁵

[*Rubric*]

[Pp. 15 and 16 *blank*]

XVI. OPINION OF DIEGO DE GARDOQUI FOR FORMULATING THE ORDINANCE OF COMMERCE FOR LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.¹²⁶

San Lorenzo, October 12, 1791

[*Cover:*] Opinion of Don Diego de Gardoqui for formulating the ordinance of commerce for Louisiana and the Floridas.

†

Although I had already given my opinion¹²⁷ on the commerce of Louisiana, now that I have re-examined the question with more profound attention, acquired further knowledge and considered

que añadir, y algunas que reformar en lo que dixe entonces. El Expediente está suficientemente instruido en orden a las dificultades que nos impiden hacer este Comercio, el modo con que actualmente se hace, y los inconvenientes que en él se han descubierto. Resumiré pues aqui brevemente el resultado de todo para poder extender mejor mis ideas acerca de lo que en el dia conviene hacer.

Es bien claro que por ahora no podemos abastecer a la Luisiana, y Floridas, porqué siendo del Estrangero todos, ó casi todos los renglones de su consumo, los unos nos salen alli mui caros, y de otros nos está prohibida la introduccion en nuestros Puertos. Tampoco podemos dar buena salida a sus retornos; conque por consiguiente és imposible tener un Comercio directo, y exclusivo con aquellas Colonias.

Por otra parte ellas están acostumbradas de mucho tiempo á surtirse de los Estrangeros bajo cuya Dominacion han vivido; y sostenida todavia esta costumbre por el interes, por el gusto, y la comodidad de los consumidores, seria peligroso, é inutil querer cortarla de una vez.

Se há buscado un medio nó pudiendo haberlo en este negocio: se há establecido un Comercio directo desde Francia, y una comunicacion con sus Islas, cuya utilidad há sido toda para los Estrangeros, y para nosotros el perjuicio del Contrabando que se hace á su sombra. De manera que el estado presente nó puede ser peór, pués ni hacémos el Comercio de la Luisiana, ni sostenemos el resguardo del de nuestras Americas.

Esta experiencia debe obligarnos a mudar de rumbo, y tentar un Camino enteramente nuevo. Porqué aquellas Colonias nó pueden subsistir sin Comercio, y en él que tengan se deben conciliar quanto sea posible sus intereses con los de la Metropoli.

Mas para esto nó parecen suficientes por si solos los medios propuestos hasta aqui. Ni el establecimiento de una Compañia, ni las Escalas, ni ninguna otra Franquicia bastarán á vencer inconvenientes que nacen de la misma naturaleza de las cosas. Quando una Nacion nó tiene proporciones para comerciar con otra, toda tentativa és violenta, e inutil. Antes és menestér corregir el defecto natural, supliendo las proporciones que faltan, esto és, hallar el medio de surtirse de lo que aquella Nacion necesita para poderselo vender, y buscar salida ventajosa á lo que le sobra para poderselo

everything well, I find several things to add and some to modify in what I said at that time. The *expediente*¹²⁸ contains sufficient information with regard to the difficulties that hinder us in carrying on that commerce, the manner in which it is carried on at present, and the objectionable features which have been discovered in it. So I shall here summarize briefly the result of it all in order the better to set forth my ideas as to what it is expedient to do at the present time.

It is very evident that for the present we cannot supply Louisiana and the Floridas, for since all, or nearly all, of the items of their consumption are of foreign origin, some of them are very expensive to us there and others we are prohibited from bringing into our ports. We are equally unable to provide an outlet for their returns; so that it is consequently impossible to have a direct and exclusive commerce with those colonies.

On the other hand, they have long been accustomed to obtain their supplies from the foreigners under whose domination they have lived; and, since this custom is still maintained by the interest, the tastes, and the convenience of the consumers, it would be dangerous and useless to try to end it abruptly.

A solution has been sought in this business when none could be found. Direct commerce with France has been established, and communication with its islands; and all the benefit of this measure has accrued to foreigners, while we suffer the injury of the smuggling that goes on under its cover. Consequently, the present situation could not be worse, since we neither carry on commerce with Louisiana nor maintain the safety of that of our Americas.

This experience must force us to change our course and to try an altogether new road, for those colonies cannot exist without commerce, and in that which they have, their interests should be reconciled, so far as possible, with those of the mother country.

But for this purpose, the means hitherto proposed do not seem sufficient by themselves alone. Neither the establishment of a company, nor calls at Spanish ports, nor any other exemption will suffice to overcome the difficulties arising out of the very nature of things. When one nation has no facilities for trading with another, every effort is violent and useless. Rather, it is necessary to correct the natural defect, by supplying the facilities which are lacking—that is, to find the means of providing what that nation needs, in order to be able to sell to it; and to seek a profitable outlet for that nation's surplus in order to be able to buy from it. This has not been

comprar. Esto nó se há hecho, ni se puede hacer de repente, y sin preparacion. Conviene pues trazar de tal manera el nuevo Reglamento, que desde luego prevenga todos los inconvenientes experimentados hasta aqui, y que vaya disponiendo mejor las cosas para lo sucesivo.

Con este objeto deben, a mi entender, fixarse principalmente quatro puntos. 1º Que aquellas Provincias tengan el surtido necesario. 2º Que den salida a sus frutos, y efectos. 3º Que por ahora no perjudiquen á nuestro Comercio de America. 4º Que entretanto vayamos adquiriendo las proporciones que ahora nos faltan para comerciar directa, y exclusivamente con ellas. Vn plan dispuesto con estas miras, creo, será el mejor partido que se pueda sacar en las circunstancias del dia: y nó véo como satisfacer de otro modo a las dificultades, y opuestos dictámenes que se encuentran en este complicado Expediente.

Pero el plan que assi se disponga debe ser muy llano, y sencillo a lo menos en la apariencia. Restituir las cosas a su natural libertad, y estar siempre en observacion para aprovechar qualquier ventaja que resulte á nuestro fabor.

Assi yo pienso que convendrá conceder á la Luisiana, y Floridas una absoluta libertad de Comercio en Europa, y America con todas las Naciones Estrangeras con quienes tengamos Tratados de Comercio reciproco. Porque nó hay por ahora mejór, ni más seguro modo de proporcionarles el surtido necesario para su consumo, y la salida de sus frutos, y efectos; dos puntos de absoluta necesidad, y de rigurosa justicia.

En esto nó habrá de nuevo más que la permission, porque la misma, y aún mayor libertad se están tomando ellos, como resulta del expediente; y nó puede dexar de ser assi, siguiendo las cosas como están en el Dia.

Para qué nó perjudique esta libertad a nuestro Comercio de America, que es quanto podemos pretender por ahora, es indispensable prohibirles con el mayor rigor toda comunicacion con nuestras Posesiones en ella, y sus Islas.

De esta prohibicion nó puede exceptuarse la Habana, porqué eso solo bastaria para mantener el Contrabando. En una Colonia inclinada naturalmente á él, y formada, por decirlo assi, de varias Naciones, és preciso cerrar todos los portillos á la codicia clandestina, yá que se abren tan anchas puertas a una concurrencia legi-

done, nor can it be done suddenly and without preparation. It is advisable, therefore, to design the new ordinance in such a way that it may immediately prevent all the evils experienced hitherto and dispose matters better for the future.

With this object, it is my opinion that four principal points should be established: 1. That those provinces have the necessary supply. 2. That an outlet for their produce and articles be provided. 3. That for the present, this shall not injure our commerce in America. 4. That meanwhile we shall continue to acquire the facilities, which we now lack, for trading directly and exclusively with them. A plan drawn up in accordance with these views will, I believe, be the best expedient that can be had in the present circumstances; and I do not see how otherwise one could meet the difficulties and conflicting opinions encountered in this complicated *expediente*.

But the plan that is thus drawn up must be very plain and simple, at least in appearance. [The object should be] to restore things to their natural liberty and to be always on the alert to take advantage of any favorable opportunity that presents itself to us.

Accordingly, I think that it will be expedient to grant Louisiana and the Floridas absolute freedom of trade in Europe and America with all foreign nations with whom we have mutual commercial treaties;¹²⁹ for there is at present no better or safer way of providing them with the necessary supplies for their consumption and an outlet for their produce and other articles: two points of absolute necessity and rigorous justice.

There will be nothing new about this but the permission, for they are now assuming the same and even greater freedom, as the *expediente* shows; and this is inevitable so long as things remain as they are today.

In order that this freedom may not injure our commerce in America, which is all that we can ask at present, it is indispensable to lay the strictest interdiction upon all communication between them and our possessions, including the islands, in America.

Havana cannot be excepted from this interdiction, for this alone would suffice to maintain the contraband trade.¹³⁰ In a colony naturally inclined to it and formed, so to speak, of various nations, it is essential to close every loophole to clandestine avarice, since the doors are thrown so wide open to legitimate competition and since

tima, y tal que bastará ella sola a fomentar todo el Comercio de que naturalmente sea capaz aquel Pais.

Para cortar de una vez toda dependencia de aquella Plaza, aun en tiempo de Guerra, és preciso erigir en Nueva Orleans una Capitanía General que comprenda la Luisiana, y las dos Floridas. Porqué en el sistema de Comercio que se déve dár á estas Provincias, tan opuesto al metodo ordinario, conviene que su Gobierno sea tambien distinto, y enteramente separado del de toda America.

Las demas relaciones que pueden considerarse con la Habana nó son tan necesarias que basten para permitir su comunicacion. Aunque en la Havana abunden los efectos de Europa, trahidos a la Luisiana, y Floridas, vendrian carissimos, ademas de ser una navegacion muy contraria. Los betunes que la Marina puede sacar de estas Provincias, me parece, que los hallará tambien en la Isla de Cuba, y las Maderas que se llevan de ellas para Cajas pueden suplirse con Cedro, como antes se hacia, pues aun la Caoba de cierta dimencion menor está permitida extraer. Y ultimamente todo ello importa muy poco en comparacion del perjuicio que traheria el dexar abierta siempre la Puerta al Contrabando.

Establecida la libertad con esta precaucion tomará aquel Comercio el curso que le séa más natural; lo aprenderémos, observarémos a donde se inclina el por si sin trabas, ni Leyes, y veremos si, siguiendo su rumbo en concurrencia con las demas Naciones, podemos aprovechar las ventajas que nos dá sobre ellas el sér Dueños de aquel Pais para irlo atrayendo a nuestra parte sin violentar sus inclinaciones, e intereses.

Para lo qual es preciso que la libertad de Comercio en Europa se extienda tambien a esta Peninsula, y que desde ella sea licito a qualquiera comerciar con aquella Colonia. Pero esto no tendrá efecto alguno si nó se remueven los dos obstaculos que hasta ahora lo hán impedido, á saber la prohibicion impuesta a muchos generos en nuestros Puertos, y el recargo que los permitidos llevan saliendo desde ellos.

Convendrá pués que nó se entienda prohibida en nuestros Puertos la introduccion de ningun genero Estrangero de los que se consumen en la Luisiana, con tal que nó se les dé otro destino para lo qual podrán establecerse los depositos, ó precauciones necesarias.

this alone will suffice to promote all the commerce of which that country is naturally capable.

In order to terminate at once all dependence of that place, even in time of war, it is essential to establish in New Orleans a captaincy-general which shall include Louisiana and the two Floridas.¹⁸¹ For, since the system of commerce that must be permitted those provinces is so opposed to the ordinary mode, it is expedient that its government likewise should be distinct and entirely separate from that of the rest of America.

The other relations with Havana that might be desirable are not so necessary as to justify permitting communication with it. Although European goods are abundant at Havana, they would be very dear if taken to Louisiana and the Floridas, besides the fact that the passage is very difficult. The pitch which the navy could get from those provinces it could, I think, obtain as well in the island of Cuba, and the lumber exported from them for boxes could be replaced, as previously, by cedar, for it is permitted to export even mahogany of certain small dimensions. And finally, all this is of very little importance compared with the injury that would result from leaving the door forever open to contraband trade.

If freedom is established with this precaution, that commerce will take the course most natural to it. We shall come to know it and shall observe whither it inclines of itself without restrictions or laws, and we shall see whether, following its course in competition with other nations, we can make use of the advantages which we possess over them by virtue of our ownership of that country in order to draw it gradually to our side without doing violence to its inclinations and interests.

For this purpose it is essential that the freedom of commerce in Europe shall be extended also to this peninsula, and that it shall be legal for any person whatever in the peninsula to trade with that colony. But this will be altogether ineffectual unless the two obstacles which have hitherto prevented this be removed, namely, the prohibition imposed on many goods in our ports and the surcharge borne by those permitted to be exported from them.

It will, therefore, be expedient not to regard as prohibited in our ports the importation of any of the foreign goods consumed in Louisiana, provided they be not sent to any other destination. For this purpose, the necessary deposits or other precautions can be provided.

El recargo de nuestras expediciones comparadas con las de los Estrangeros, consiste en los derechos de introduccion, y extraccion, que pagan acá sus generos, y en él flete, y gastos que se aumentan desde sus Puertos á los nuestros. En quanto a lo primero és preciso libertar estos generos de todo derecho de extraccion, y restituir enteramente cuando se extraigan los que hayan pagado a su introduccion; ó por lo menos que si sé les há de cobrar algun derecho sea menór que él que ellos paguen al salir de sus propios Puertos. Lo segundo es preciso equilibrarlo, cargando allá á los mismos generos quando vayan en Naves Estrangeras, un derecho equivalente, y aún, que exceda algo al aumento de flete, y gastos que llevan quando van en las nuestras.

La misma diferencia convendrá observar en los retornos. Qualquier fruto de la Luisiana, cuya introduccion en España sea prohibida á los particulares, como sucede en el Tabaco debe declararse de licito Comercio; con tal se extraiga para Países Estrangeros, estableciendo los depositos ó precavciones necesarias para evitar el Fraude. Y por el contrario debe prohibirse que venga del Extranjero el Arroz, y demas frutos de que abunda la Luisiana y Costa de Campeche, respecto á que pueden proveher, el consumo de la Peninsula. La Marina Real podria tambien fomentar la introduccion de los betunes, y Salazones de carnes de que abunda aquel Pais, y hay quien ofrece surtir a precios muy equitativos, y de igual Calidad á las de Baca, y Puerco de Yrlanda.

Toda extraccion de efectos de la Luisiana, su introduccion en España, y su reextraccion, deben ser para nosotros libre de derechos; cargando los que convenga á las extracciones que de los mismos efectos hagan en la Luisiana los Estrangeros, para igualar assi la diferencia de gastos que tendrán nuestros Comerciantes en sus Expediciones hasta llegar a los Mercados.

Es imposible, especialmente en los principios, sostener de otro modo nuestra concurrencia assi en la Luisiana, como en los Mercados de Europa, donde se hán de vender sus retornos. Este és el unico medio de irnos introduciendo, y entrando a la parte en un Comercio que aunque de derecho és todo nuestro, estamos privados de él por falta de proporciones naturales. Por consiguiente todas las Franquicias propuestas en este plan, deven mirarse como los unicos arbitrios que dicta la necesidad para hacer algun dia util á la Metropoli una Colonia que no lo há sido desde su adquisicion.

The surcharge upon our shipments, compared with those of foreigners, consists in the duties of importation and exportation paid here on their goods, and in the freight and other added expenses from their ports to ours. As for the first, it is essential to exempt these goods from all export duties and to pay a drawback of the full amount of the import duty when they are re-exported; or, at least, if some duty must be imposed, it should be less than what they pay on leaving their own ports. The second must be equalized, and when the same goods are carried in foreign vessels they should be charged a duty there which would equal or even exceed somewhat the higher freight rates and other expenses that they bear when they are carried in our own vessels.

It will be expedient to make the same difference in the case of return cargoes. Any produce of Louisiana whose importation into Spain is prohibited to individuals, as tobacco, should be permitted to be introduced legally, provided that it may be re-exported to foreign countries, by establishing deposits or necessary precautions in order to prevent fraud. And on the other hand, the importation from abroad of rice and other products abounding in Louisiana and the coast of Campeche should be prohibited, since those regions can meet all the requirements of the peninsula. The royal navy could also promote the importation of pitch and salt meat, which are abundant in that country; and there is a person who offers to supply salt beef and pork, of as good quality as those of Ireland, at very reasonable prices.

The exportation of all goods from Louisiana, their importation into Spain and their re-exportation should be duty free for us, while suitable duties should be imposed on the exportation of the same goods from Louisiana by foreigners, in order thus to equalize the difference in costs which our merchants will have to bear in their shipments in order to reach the markets.

It is impossible, especially at the beginning, to maintain our competition in any other way either in Louisiana or in the markets of Europe, where the returns will have to be sold. This is the only way by which we can make a place for ourselves in a commerce of which (though it is rightfully ours) we are deprived for lack of natural facilities. Consequently, all the privileges proposed in this plan must be regarded as the sole measures dictated by necessity in order that a colony which has never been of any advantage to the mother country since its acquisition may some day prove useful to it.

Si con este metodo se logran algunas expediciones hechas en derechura desde los Puertos de la Peninsula, nuestros Comerciantes se irán aficionando á este trafico, y la misma frecuencia se lo hará conocer, y praticar mejor. Aquellos Colónos se acostumbrarán tambien al trato con ellos, y conforme se vayan imitando en nuestras Fabricas los generos de su consumo se les podrán ir mezclando algunos hasta lograr apoderarse enteramente de estos renglones que tanto pueden fomentar nuestra industria.

Por parte del Gobierno deberia disponer desde luego que se hiciesen de cuenta de la Real Hacienda en nuestras Fabricas los generos que se llevan de regalo a los Indios, procurando la mayor perfeccion, y la semejanza posible con los de Fabrica Estrangera; y si al principio nó se imitan del todo bien, y se teme que los extrañen, se les puede contentar, aumentando la cantidad, ó añadiendo alguna variedad en dichos regalos á disposicion de aquellos Gefes; porqué este és el Camino de introducir, y acreditar allí nuestras Manufacturas.

Mas para supplantar como se desea todos los articulos de Ropas, Comestibles, y otros efectos Estrangeros con qué se hace aquel comercio, convendria comisionar algun Comerciante honrado, que procurasse su elaboracion en nuestras Fabricas. Las mantas de Yndios se harian a buen precio en Palencia y Burgos. De vinos Estrangeros nó habrá tanta necesidad en aquella Colonia cortada la comunicacion con nuestras Americas, y facilmente sustituirian los nuestros de pasto, y postres: pero bien se podria hacer una prueba con los de la Rioja que, parece, se semejan mas al de Burdeos en suavidad, colór, y ligereza en especial los que ultimamente hace Dⁿ Manuel Quintano de que hai muestras en Madrid. Los Fusiles de S^t Etienne se harán tambien en Placencia, y Barcelona; y no veo dificultad, por más que se pondere, en que del mismo modo se imiten los demas articulos en nuestras Fabricas. Dias há que lo hubieramos experimentado, si con la negociacion de M^r Maxent nó se hubiera interrumpido cierta comision dada sobre esto por el S^{or} Marques de Sonóra á una Casa de Bilbao en la Guerra pasada. Ultimamente se renovó la misma idea en el encargo de Navarro, pero hasta ahóra solo se hán dado los primeros passos; y el llevar al cabo este proyecto, és sin duda lo más importante en el asunto que se trata.

If by this method some expeditions made direct from the ports of the peninsula are successful, our merchants will take an increasing interest in this traffic, and with experience it will be better known and better handled. Those colonists will likewise become accustomed to dealing with them; and according as the goods consumed in Louisiana are imitated in our factories, it will be possible to introduce more and more of them until we get complete control of those articles that can give such an impetus to our industry.

As for the government, it should arrange at once to have the goods taken as presents to the Indians made in our factories at the expense of the royal treasury, obtaining the highest degree of perfection and the closest possible resemblance to those of foreign manufacture. If the imitation is not entirely satisfactory at the outset and it is feared that the Indians may decline them, they may be kept satisfied by increasing the quantity or by adding some novelty among the said presents at the disposition of the chiefs of the province; for this is the way to introduce them and to recommend our manufactures there.

But in order to supplant, as is desired, all the articles of clothing, foodstuffs, and other foreign wares with which that commerce is carried on, it would be expedient to commission some honest merchant to obtain their production in our factories. Indian blankets could be made at a moderate price in Palencia and Burgos. Foreign wines will not be so much in demand in that colony when its communication with our other American colonies has been severed, and our wines of the ordinary as well as of the choicer varieties could easily be substituted. The first trial might well be made with Rioja wines, which, it seems, resemble most closely that of Bordeaux in sweetness, color, and lightness, especially those lately made by Don Manuel Quintano, of which there are samples in Madrid. The guns of St. Étienne can also be made in Placencia [*sic*: Palencia] and Barcelona; and, notwithstanding all the objections that have been made, I see no difficulty in imitating the other foreign articles in our factories in the same manner. We should have made the experiment some time ago had not the negotiation of Monsieur Maxent interrupted a certain commission to this effect given by the Marqués de Sonora to a house in Bilbao during the last war. The same idea was recently revived in Navarro's mission, but so far only the first steps have been taken and the completion of this project is without doubt the most important matter in the business under consideration.

Con todas estas miras, y segun los principios que quedan explicados creo, que debe arreglarse el nuevo Plan de Comercio para la Luisiana, y Floridas. Si examinadas mis ideas parecieren dignas de aprovacion extenderé conforme a ellas el Reglamento por menor que deve publicarse cumplido el decenio de la Cedula que há regido hasta ahora.

Sⁿ Lorenzo 12 de Oct^{re} 1791.

DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

[*Rubricado*]

XVII. ACTAS DE LA SUPREMA JUNTA DE ESTADO.

17 de Octubre de 1791

Junta de Estado de 17 de Octubre de 1791.

[Asistieron los]
Señores
Floridablanca.
Valdes.
Bajamar.
Campo de Alanje.

[Propuestas:]
Indias.
Reglamento de
Comercio de la
Luisiana.

Se leyo el dictamen q. ha formado y extendido el Director de Comercio de Indias Dn. Diego de Gardoqui, con vista de todos los antecedentes informes, y propuestas de q. consta el expediente, sre, el sistema q. se haya de seguir, y reglamento q. convendrá dar pa. el Comercio de la Provincia de la Luisiana, y de las dos Floridas, luego q. espire el termino prefinido en la Cedula de 2[2] de Enero de 1782. pr. la qual, y pr. las declaraciones posteriores se concede qe. el de la Luisiana se pudiese hacer durante diez años, desde algunos Puertos de Francia, y desde las Colonias extrangeras.

Segun la situacion, y circunstancias de aquellas Provincias, y la absoluta necesidad de surtir las de los generos a qe. estan acostumbradas, dando salida y despacho a los frutos, y efectos qe. ellas producen, y la imposibilidad en que todavia nos hallamos nosotros de hacerlo, juzga el Director qe. sera preciso conceder a la Luisiana, y Florida, absoluta libertad de Comercio en Europa, y America con todas las Naciones Extrangeras con quienes tengamos Tratados de Comercio reciproco.

Considerando la Junta los hechos y fundamentos en qe. el Director se apoya; la parecio qe. en este asunto se tiene ya toda la instruccion necesaria, pa. qe. el Rey determine, y qe. al fin será

I believe that the new plan of commerce for Louisiana and the Floridas should be framed with all these views and in conformity with the principles that have been set forth. If upon examination my ideas seem to deserve approval, I will draw up the ordinance in detail in conformity with them.¹³² It should be published at the expiration of the ten-year period stipulated in the *cédula* that has been in force up to the present.

San Lorenzo, October 12, 1791.

DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

[*Rubric*]

XVII. MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE SUPREMA JUNTA DE ESTADO.¹³³

October 17, 1791

Junta de Estado, October 17, 1791.

The opinion¹³⁴ formed and drawn up by the *director de comercio de Indias*,¹³⁵ Don Diego de Gardoqui, was read. It was drawn up in the light of all the antecedents, reports, and proposals which constitute the *expediente*,¹³⁶ in regard to the system that is to be followed, the ordinance that it will be expedient to adopt for the commerce of the province of Louisiana and the two Floridas upon the expiration of the period stipulated in the *cédula* of January 2[2], 1782, by which and by later declarations it was granted that the commerce of Louisiana might be carried on for ten years from certain ports of France and from foreign colonies.

In view of the situation and circumstances of those provinces and of the absolute necessity of supplying them with the goods to which they are accustomed, providing an outlet and sale for the produce and other articles which they produce, and in view of the present impossibility of our doing this ourselves, the director is of the opinion that it will be essential to grant Louisiana and Florida absolute freedom of trade in Europe and America with all foreign nations with which we have reciprocal treaties of commerce.

The Junta, considering the facts and principles on which the director relies, was of the opinion that all the information about this affair which is necessary to enable the king to make a decision has been gathered, and that finally it will be essential to come to

[Present]

Señores:
Floridablanca.
Valdés.
Bajamar.
Campo de Alange.

[Agenda:]

Indies.
Commercial
ordinance for
Louisiana.

preciso venir a parar en qe. S.M. se conforme con el dictamen del Director.

Pero reflexionando qe. la voz de libertad absoluta puede causar malas sensaciones, y comparaciones en los otros dominios de America qe. no la gozan, y son mucho mas importantes, e infinitamente mas utiles a la Monarquia; parecio asi mismo qe. en algun modo convendrá moderarla y dejarla a lo menos con apariencia de sugesion.

Que para lo primero pudiera decirse qe. la libertad no es gracia nueva, sino prorrogacion y ampliacion de la concedida a la Luisiana pr la Cedula de 1782, y declaraciones posteriores; llamandola interina, pr. diez quince, o veinte años, o hasta tanto qe. aquellas Colonias se pongan en estado de poderlas uniformar al sistema de los otros dominios del Rey, en aquel nuevo mundo.

Que pa. la apariencia de sugesion los Europeos qe. hayan de comerciar en dhas. Colonias tengan la de tocar a la ida y tomar el pase en algun Puerto de Galicia; y los Americanos en otro de la Isla de Sto. Domingo: o si pareciere mejor sea en aquella Isla, y no en España donde le tomen unos y otros, señalando en ella dos Puertos a una, y otra banda; en los quales no se hagan registros, reduciendose toda la formalidad, a decir los nombres del Capitan, y buque, declarar por mayor la carga qe. llevan y a qe. parte se dirigen, y pedir el pase, qe. se les dara, sino hubiere motivo justo pa. lo contrario, a fin de qe. sigan su ruta, sin qe. se les inquiete haciendolo via recta y sean admitidos en dhas. Colonias, pues sin el pase no deberan serlo.

I que el Director vea, y considere estos puntos, y añada a su dictamen lo qe. le pareciere sre. ellos, y particularmente sre el del arribo de las embarcaciones a tomar el pase, y las ventajas, facilidad, o dificultades qe. esto pueda tener en la practica.

EUG^o DE LLAGUNO.

the conclusion that his Majesty should accept the opinion of the director.

But, reflecting that the expression "absolute liberty" might cause ill feeling and envy in the other American possessions not enjoying it and which are much more important and infinitely more useful to the monarchy, the Junta was also of the opinion that it would be expedient to modify the expression in some way and leave it with at least an appearance of subordination.

[The Junta advised] that for the first purpose it might be stated that this freedom is not a new concession, but merely a prorogation and amplification of that which was granted Louisiana by the *cédula* of 1782 and later declarations; and that it might be termed provisional for a period of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, or until such time as those colonies may be brought to the point where they can be assimilated to the system prevailing in the other dominions of the king in that new world.¹³⁷

[It advised] that in order to retain the appearance of subordination, Europeans trading with those colonies should be required to call at some port of Galicia on their way out and obtain a permit. The Americans can be required to do the same at some port in the island of Santo Domingo.¹³⁸ If it seemed preferable, both the former and the latter might call at that island and not at a Spanish port. Two ports, one on either side of the island, could be designated. No inspections would be made there, and the only formalities would consist of a statement of the name of the captain and the ship, a general statement with regard to the cargo carried and its destination, and a request for the permit, which should be given them unless there were some just reason for refusing it. The object of this arrangement is that the ships might continue direct on their way without hindrance and might be permitted to enter the ports of those colonies; for without the permit they should not be permitted to do so.

[The Junta is also of the opinion] that the director should see and consider these points and should make any addition to his opinion that he may see fit in regard to them, and especially in regard to ships calling to obtain a permit, stating the benefits, convenience, or obstacles that may result from it in practice.¹³⁹

EUGENIO DE LLAGUNO.

XVIII. JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA, GOBERNADOR
DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL, AL CONDE DE LERENA
SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL.

San Agustín de la Florida, 15 de Noviembre de 1791

[Pág. 1] N^o 4.

Ex^{mo}. Señor.

El Gobernador de la Florida satisface la real ordn. de 24. de Junio ultimo en que su Magestad se digna resolver no se concedan permisos para la extraccion de efectos que por notoriedad, se save no son producciones de este Pais.

Con fha de 24. de Junio ultimo, se sirve V. E. prevenirme, de orden del rey, que deseo S. M. de fomentar los frutos de esta Prov^a y evitar las dudas que se suscitan con los que de ella se extrañen, con reñtro para otros Puertos de sus dominios, se ha dignado resolver, que no se concedan permisos para efectos que, con notoriedad, se save no son producciones de este Pais; A cuya real orden darè el mas devido exacto cumplimiento.

Al mismo tpo. la lealtad de buen vasallo, y la fuerza de mi obligacion, con los mas puros deseos del mejor servicio del Rey, me precisan á hacer á V. E. una concisa descripcion de la vniversal miseria de esta Prov^a, de [pág. 2] mi cargo.

Mé entregué del Gobierno en el mes de Julio del año proximo pasado, y con fha de 30. del subsiguiente Septiembre, vaxo numero 1^o represente, suscintamente á V. E. el deplorable estado del Pais, exponiendo, entre otras cosas, quanto contribuiria á su remedio el que hallandose sin reglam^{to} comercial alguno se le concediese igual que á la Luisiana, ó bien las franquiscias de la Trinidad de Barlovento; Apelando, en ordn á mi proposicion, á la experiencia que á sus difusas luces, añade dⁿ Diego de Gardoqui de la situacion local, é importancia de Florida.

El proprio Don Diego fué, segun consta en esta secretaria, y supe ultimamente, años pasados, de dictamen, y lo tenia asi participado á la superioridad, que seria mas util al estado, y al fomento de la Prov^a el que esta tubiese su Comercio en derecho con la Patria Madre, mas bien que con la Havana, ó el seno Mexicano; Confirmando la sanidad de dho [pág. 3] dictamen la imposibilidad que á primera vista se presenta, de que una republica absolutam^{te} sin medios, ó fuersas, tome incremento; Obligandola á proveerse de los nesarios, y aunque sea de las conveniencias de la vida, de un

XVIII. JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA, GOVERNOR OF
EAST FLORIDA, TO THE CONDE DE LERENA, RELATIVE TO THE COMMERCE OF EAST FLORIDA.¹⁴⁰

St. Augustine, Florida, November 15, 1791

[P. 1] No. 4.

Most Excellent Sir:

Under date of June 24 last [1791], your Excellency is pleased to inform me, by order of the king, that his Majesty, wishing to give encouragement to the produce of this province and to avoid the doubts that arise in connection with those which are exported from it under registry for other ports of his dominions, is pleased to decide that permits shall not be granted for articles which are notoriously known not to be products of this country. I will observe this order duly and most scrupulously.

At the same time, the loyalty of a good subject and the force of my obligation, together with the most disinterested desire for the service of the king, compel me to give your Excellency a concise description of the universal misery of this province for which [p. 2] I am responsible.

I took possession of the government in the month of July of last year, and under date of September 30 of that year, in despatch No. 1, I gave your excellency a succinct statement of the deplorable condition of this country. I showed among other things what a help it would be, since there is no commercial ordinance in effect, if it were granted one like that of Louisiana or even the same privileges as Trinidad in the Windward Islands [Barlovento]. In support of my proposition I referred to Don Diego de Gardoqui, who, in addition to his wide general knowledge, is aware through his own experience of the local situation and importance of Florida.¹⁴¹

Don Diego himself, as appears in the records of this office, and as I learned recently, was some years ago of the opinion—and he so expressed it to his superior—that it would be more useful to the state and for the development of the province, if its commerce were carried on direct with the mother country rather than with Havana or the gulf of Mexico.¹⁴² The soundness of his opinion is confirmed [p. 3] by the obvious impossibility of a country's growing when it is absolutely destitute of means and resources, and is obliged to supply itself with the necessities and even with the comforts of life from

The Governor of Florida complies with the royal order of June 24 last, in which his majesty was pleased to decide that permits should not be granted for the exportation of articles which are notoriously known not to be products of this country.

parage, como la Havana que los recibe ella misma de España; Y por consiguiente, al costo de lo que se compra en aquella Plaza, deveran aumentarse, conducido á esta, el flete, y ganancia del revendedor, que es lo mismo que exhigir que la pobreza de estos havitantes, se surta de lo indispensable, con precios mucho mas subidos que no la opulencia de aquellos.

La inmediasion de los Estados unidos, cuya frontera dista solo 17. Leguas de aqui, y desde la qual se internan por la Provincia muchos Caños, y comunicaciones aquatiles, con cortisimas interseccion de tierra, hasta esta misma Plaza, presta una facilidad extrema al comercio, ylicito; Sirviendo [pág. 4] ademas de estimulo insuperable á los Havitantes, para huir de la peligrosa navegacion del Canal de Bahama, y acudir á lo mas cerca, y varato; necesitandose para impedirlo eficazmente, centenares de Guardas, y solo hay dos, y un mayor de dotacion.

Desde mi ingreso en el Gobierno, no se me escondieron los abusos que resultavan de las indicadas causas, y a consecuencia me dediqué á cortarlos con firmeza, pulso, y suavidad: El haverlo intentado de golpe, y con rrigor, hubiera sido proceder con un celo, que no sin razon, se graduaria de indiscreto; Y que en realidad, atrasaria, en lugar de adelantar, los reales intereses: Comprehendo que no lo entiende asi la Yntendencia de la Havana, ni se hace cargo de la basta diferencia que hay de un embrion, a un adulto: Fundo esta conjetura en algunas operaciones suyas, originadas, estoy cierto, en el mas bien [pág. 5] intencionado celo, relativas á frutos de esta Provincia, conducidos á aquella Plaza; A consecuencia de las quales, y de acuerdo con la propria Yntendencia, como evidencian las adjuntas copias de Oficios baxo numero 1. que mediaron entre aquel Ministro, y yo, sobre la Materia, dispuse la formacion del Expediente de que acompaño Testimonio con n^o 2.: En el constan las producciones induvitables de este Pais; Pero mi proprio honor, y pureza con q^e sirvo á S. M, no me permiten asegurar que todo lo conducido de aqui á la Havana, haya sido efectivamente frutos de la misma Provincia, y á la verdad evitè, por motivo de la expresada miseria unibersal de los Havitantes, el hacer una pesquisa rigurosa sobre la materia, que sin veneficio esencial del real Erario, seria acabar con la Comunidad.

Dicha miseria comprehende igualmente á los dependientes, y



Map of Tampa Bay (Eighteenth Century)

such a place as Havana, which itself obtains them from Spain. Consequently, to the purchase price of goods bought in Havana must be added the cost of transportation to this place and the middleman's profit; and this is the same as requiring these poverty stricken inhabitants to obtain indispensable supplies at much higher prices than the wealthy people of Havana pay.

The juxtaposition of the United States, whose frontier is only seventeen leagues distant from here, and from which numerous channels and [other] waterways, interspersed with very narrow land intersections, penetrate into the province as far as this very town, makes illicit trade extremely easy, and moreover gives [p. 4] irresistible encouragement to these people to avoid the dangerous navigation of the Bahama Channel and seek the nearest and cheapest market. To prevent this effectively, hundreds of guards would be necessary, whereas there are regularly only two guards and their chief.

Since I took possession of this government, the abuses resulting from the causes mentioned above have not escaped my notice, and consequently I set myself to stop them with firmness, tact, and forbearance. To have tried to do so suddenly and rigorously would have been to act with zeal that might have been described, not unjustly, as indiscreet, and that would in reality have retarded, instead of advancing, the interests of the king. I understand that the intendancy of Havana is not of this opinion and does not take into account the wide difference between an embryo and an adult. I base this conjecture on some of its operations which, I am certain, were due to the best [p. 5] intentioned zeal and which related to produce of this province taken to that place. In consequence of these operations and in agreement with the same intendancy (as appears from the enclosed copies of official letters under No. 1, which passed between that official and myself about this affair), I ordered the papers treating of this matter to be assembled and enclose (No. 2)¹⁴³ an affidavit thereof. This shows what are unquestionably the products of this country; but my own honor and the integrity with which I serve his majesty do not permit me to affirm that everything that has been taken hence to Havana has in fact been produced in this province. In truth, because of the aforesaid universal misery of its inhabitants, I refrained from making a rigorous investigation into the matter for, without benefiting the royal treasury essentially, this would have destroyed the community.

The dependents and employees of the government and the royal

Empleados del Gobierno, y real Hacienda ; A quien^s [pág. 6] además de cresidas cantidades á los pocos particulares (todos en el dia agotados) en estado de subvenir á las exigencias publicas ; Quando llegué á esta, se les estaban deviendo diez, y ocho meses (en la actualidad tres años) de sueldos, y gravadas al proprio tiempo sus arcas reales, desde el año anterior, con el enorme sobre peso del 3º Batallon de cuba, cuyo haver anual, asciende á unos cinquenta, y ocho mil p^s ; Siendo asi que los ante dichos Socorros provicionales, están limitados á Sesenta y seis mil, de cuya cantidad, cinquenta mil, estan considerados p^a gastos de Poblacion.

Quando se transportò á esta dho Batallon, no ignoró la Yntend^a de la Havana lo imposible que era, á los extenuados medios de la Florida, el aguantar tan excesiva carga addicional, y en esta inteligencia ofreció, en aquel entonces, á el comandante de el, el Theniente coronel Dⁿ Bartñe. de Morales, el dirigir oportunamente los correspondientes Socorros ; En efecto, al principio se remi- [pág. 7] tieron algunos, aunque de todos modos cortos, mas cesó luego dha Yntend^a de continuarlos pasando á descontar, con rigor, el importe de quantos viveres subministrava para estas atenciones, sin embargo de que la mucha maior parte se consumia en arracionar al proprio Batallon ; Fundandose ella en que es de la obligacion de estas caxas el subsidiar á su guarnicion, sin hacerse cargo de que este Batallon, ès, como tengo manifestado, el tercero del rexim^{to} de cuba, y de consiguiente, que su socorro correspondia indispensablemente á aquellas Caxas ; A lo menos hasta que providencie otra cosa la superioridad, O tubiese efecto lo que hay propuesto sobre el particular en el reglamento pendiente en Mexico, en virtud de Real oñ. de 1º de Noviembre del año pº pº comunicada de parte de V. E. por dⁿ Pedro Aparicy, y si dho reglamento deve, como es de presumir, dirigirse á la Corte para la real aprovacion, puede tardar, todavia tiempo en descender.

En el interin, como tan [pág. 8] indevidos descuentos, completarian las desdichas de esta exhausta comunidad, mi amor, y fidelidad al rey, me presisaron á protextar con fechas de 27. de Septiembre ultimo, y dos del presente mes, al Capitan general, Don Luis de las Casas, que de seguir aquella Yntendencia descontando de los citados socorros provicionales, el importe de los viveres, y efectos que remita para este Presidio (siempre que su valor no exceda al indi-

treasury likewise share in this misery. [p. 6] In addition to the large sums due to individuals in a position to lend aid in time of public necessity (all are now penniless), back pay for eighteen months (at present, for three years) was owing to them when I arrived here. At the same time, the treasury of this province has since last year been burdened with the enormous charge of supporting the Third Battalion of Cuba, whose annual payroll runs up to about fifty-eight thousand pesos, while the temporary subventions aforesaid amount to only sixty-six thousand pesos, and of that amount fifty thousand pesos are allotted for expenses connected with immigration.

When the said battalion was brought here, the intendancy of Havana was not unaware of the impossibility, in view of the scanty resources of Florida, of bearing so heavy an additional burden and, with this understanding, at that time promised its commandant, Lieutenant Colonel Don Bartolomé de Morales, to send the necessary assistance at the proper times. In fact, at the outset, [p. 7] some remittances were made, though, considered under any light, small ones; later, the intendancy aforesaid stopped sending them altogether and even rigorously deducted the value of all provisions supplied for that purpose, despite the fact that much the larger part of those supplies was used for rationing that battalion. The reason assigned for such action by the intendancy was the obligation of the treasury here to support its own garrison, and no account was taken of the fact that that battalion is, as I have already stated, the third battalion of the Cuban Regiment, and that, consequently, it is the duty of the Cuban treasury to maintain it. [This should be done] at least until our superiors decide otherwise, or until the execution of the proposal on this point in the ordinance now pending in Mexico, in compliance with the royal order of November 1 of last year, communicated on behalf of your excellency by Don Pedro Aparici. If the said ordinance must, as is to be supposed, be sent to the court for the king's approval, there may be still further delay in its arrival here.

In the meantime, since such [p. 8] improper deductions would complete the misfortunes of this exhausted community, my love and loyalty to the king compelled me to protest, under date of September 27 and the second of this month, to the captain general, Don Luis de las Casas, that if that intendancy continues to discount the aforesaid provisional assistance, the cost of the provisions and other articles which it sends to this presidio (provided

cado haver annual de el Batallon) no podia yo (ni puedo) en honor, y conciencia, y sin faltar á lo que devo al rey, responder de las resultas.

Estas, con sumo dolor mio, devo manifestar á V. E. empiezan á ser de mal semblante, en punto al fomento de la Poblacion de esta Provincia, que se digno la real piedad disponer tubiese efecto el año proximo pasado, que haviendose aumentado considerablemente al principio, ya va en disminucion pues se han retirado algunas familias Españolas á la Havana, [pág. 9] y otras extranjeras á los Estados unidos: Por la ning^a circulacion de numerario que desalienta á los Havitantes en general, é imposibilita al mas industrioso de mantener á su familia.

Todo lo qual, y otras varias Causas de la infeliz constitucion (en el dia todavia peor) de la Florida, consta por extenso en la adjunta copia de representacion N^o 3., que de ella, en terminos nada exagerados, hizo en la Havana al expresado Capⁿ general, este Secretario, el Capⁿ dⁿ Carlos Howard, á quien en vista de los fuertes apuros, que cercaban á este Gobierno comisione, para el efecto, á mediados de Junio ultimo, en virtud de previa junta de Guerra, y real Hacienda, celebrada sobre el particular.

S. M., impuesto de todo por V. E., se dignara resolver lo que su real saviduria tenga por conveniente; En la intelig^a de que la fuerza de mi oblgⁿ zelo, y deseos del mejor servicio del Rey, me impulsan á manifes-[pág. 10]tar que de no darse una pronta Providencia p^a reanimar á esta hagonisante colonia, ella expirara en breve.

Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. San Agustin de la Florida 15. de Noviembre de 1791.

Exño Señor

JUAN NEPOM^{NO} DE QUESADA.

[*Rubricado*]

[*Dirección:*] Exño Señor

Conde de Lerena.

[Las páginas 11 y 12 *en blanco*]

their value does not exceed the stated annual funds of the battalion), I could not (nor can I) in honor and with a clear conscience and without failing in my duty to the king, answer for the results.

I must, with the greatest sorrow on my part, declare to your Excellency that these results are beginning to assume an unfavorable aspect with regard to the promotion of immigration into this province—a measure which it pleased the royal compassion to order executed last year. At first, there was a considerable increase, but already a decline has set in, for several Spanish families have withdrawn to Havana [p. 9] and other foreign families to the United States, because of the lack of circulation of specie. This discourages the inhabitants in general and makes it impossible for the most industrious to support his family.

All of this, together with several other reasons for the unhappy condition of Florida (which is now worse than ever), is shown in detail in the enclosed copy of memorial No. 3. That memorial, in no wise exaggerated, was presented in Havana to the captain general aforesaid by my secretary here, Captain Don Carlos Howard,¹⁴⁴ whom I commissioned for that purpose about the middle of last June because of the urgent necessities pressing in upon this government. My decision was made after discussion of this matter in a *junta de guerra y real hacienda*.¹⁴⁵

His Majesty, informed of everything by your Excellency, will be pleased to determine whatever his royal wisdom holds expedient, with the knowledge that the force of my obligation, zeal, and desires for the best service of the king impel me to declare [p. 10] that, unless prompt measures are taken to revive this expiring colony, it will soon breathe its last.

May God protect your Excellency many years. St. Augustine, Florida. November 15, 1791.

Most Excellent Sir.

JUAN NEPOMUCENO DE QUESADA.

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir

Conde de Lerena.

[Pp. 11 and 12 *blank*]

XIX. ACTAS DEL SUPREMO CONSEJO DE ESTADO.

16 de Noviembre de 1792

Consejo de Estado de 16. de Nov^{re} de 1792.

Presidió el Rey.
Asistieron los S^{tes}
Aranda, Decano,
Almodovar,
Valdes,
Caballero,
Astorga,
Campo de Alange,
Campomanes,
Gardoqui,
Alcudia,
Acuña.

En consecuencia del Acuerdo antecedente de la Junta de Estado, traxo en minuta el s^r Ministro actual de Hacienda Dⁿ Diego de Gardoqui la Cedula que segun su opinion conviene expedir sobre el libre comercio de la Luisiana.

Leidos primero el papel, y despues la minuta, el s^r Conde de Campomanes puso algunas obgecciones á que el Comercio de la Luisiana con los puertos extrangeros, y de estos con la Luisiana sea tan absolutam^{te} libre, que los buques que le hagan ni aun tengan la sugecion de tocar en alguno de nuestros puertos: y aunque el s^r Gardoqui expresó, que esta libertad no es nueva, pues la han gozado los puertos de Francia, y las Colonias extrangeras Americanas en virtud de la Cedula del año de 1782; y si ahora se hiciese novedad, lexos de promover y facilitar el comercio de aquella importante Provincia, se le pondria una traba que no ha tenido hasta ahora, y que sin producir utilidad, causaria en ella sensacion poco favorable: resolvió S M. que pase el expediente por turno á los señores vocales, para que considerando este asunto mas de espacio, expongan en otro Consejo su dictamen.

EUG^o DE LLAGUNO.[*Rubricado*]

XX. DICTAMEN DEL MARQUÉS DE BAJAMAR SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE LA LUISIANA Y LAS FLORIDAS.

Madrid, 7 de Enero de 1793

El Marqués de Bajamar. Madrid, enero 7 de 1793.

[*Carpeta:*] 7 de Enero de 1793. Dictamen del s^r Marques de Bajamar.

Señor

Algunas dificultades enquntro en la Concecion del Comercio directo de la Luysiana, y Floridas con los Puertos de Francia, y

XIX. MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE SUPREMO
CONSEJO DE ESTADO.¹⁴⁶

November 16, 1792

Consejo de Estado, November 16, 1792.

In consequence of the foregoing *acuerdo* of the Junta de Estado, the present *ministro de Hacienda*,¹⁴⁷ Don Diego de Gardoqui, brought a minute of the *cédula*¹⁴⁸ which, in his opinion, it is expedient to issue in regard to the free trade of Louisiana.

After the paper [*i.e.*, the *acuerdo*] had first been read, and then the minute, the Conde de Campomanes¹⁴⁹ raised some objections to permitting the commerce of Louisiana with foreign ports, and of the latter with Louisiana, to be so absolutely free that the ships engaged in it should not even be required to call at any of our ports. Although Señor Gardoqui declared that this privilege is not new, since the ports of France and the foreign colonies of America have enjoyed it by virtue of the *cédula* of the year 1782, and that if any innovation were made now, far from promoting and facilitating the commerce of that important province, it would impose an obstacle which it has not known until now and which, without doing any good, would cause an unfavorable sensation there, his Majesty nevertheless resolved that the *expediente* should be transmitted in turn to the members of the *consejo*, in order that they might consider the matter more at leisure and express their opinion at another meeting of the *Consejo*.¹⁵⁰

EUGENIO DE LLAGUNO.¹⁵¹

[*Rubric*]

XX. OPINION OF THE MARQUÉS DE BAJAMAR ON THE
COMMERCE OF LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.¹⁵²

Madrid, January 7, 1793

The Marqués de Bajamar. Madrid, January 7, 1793.

[*Wrapper*:] January 7, 1793. Opinion of the Marqués de Bajamar.

Sire

I find several objections to the concession of direct commerce between Louisiana and the Floridas and the ports of France and

The King presided.
Present: Señores
Aranda, Dean,
Almodóvar,
Valdés,
Caballero,
Astorga,
Campo de Alange,
Campomanes,
Gardoqui,
Alcudia,
Acuña.

demas extranjeros con quienes tenemos Tratados de Com^o como propone la minuta de la Cedula q^e se proiecta.

La 1^a Que atendida esta libertad, y el poco consumo, ó abasto q^e necesitan los Colonos se una y otra posesion, vendrá á ser con el tpo, la Luysiana lo mismo, q^e fue la Colonia del Sacram^{to} respecto del Peru, á qⁿ surtia clandestinam^{te} de todos los generos de Europa á pesar de la prohibicion, y celo de los ministros de Haz^{da} p^a impedirlo. La Luysiana, tiene p^a esto la mas ventajosa Situacion, y desde ella saldrán clandestinam^{te} todos los generos Europeos p^a ntras. Yslas de Barlovento, y Costas de todo el Seno Mexicano, con q^{nes} p^r otro lado es imposible cortarles toda comunicacion.

La 2^a q^e estas circunstancias harán q^e los frutos de estas Colonias, vayan todos á Países extranjeros, en Retorno de Sus mercaderias internadas alli, y del propio modo la plata, procedida de los mismos generos vendidos clandestinam^{te} Ynterin q^e ntro. Comercio Español quede privado de las mas lucrosas negociaciones, q^e todas serán del extranjero.

Esto Supuesto me parece deve buscarse un medio q^e al paso que se consulte á dar fomento, y actividad á aquellas posesiones, y á sus naturales, no sea ruinoso al Comercio de la Metropoli: Buscar este és lo q^e en el dia pide preferible atencion.

Calculese pues, si convendria prohibir de todo punto el Com^o directo con el extranjero, y reducirlo á Nacional, franqueando á este todos los alivios, en la baja de Dros. de introduccion, y extraccion tanto en los efectos extranjeros q^e se introduxesen en los Puertos habilitados de la Peninsula p^a dirigir á la Luysiana, y Floridas, como tambien en los nacionales, Concediendose franquicias de Dros. de extrangeria á las embarcaciones, q^e p^a él comprasen nuestros Comerciantes. &^a

Si carecemos de generos del Consumo de aquellos habitantes, podemos hacerlos venir á nuestros Puertos habilitados, y tendremos con ellos, y los nuestros el Surtim^{to} necesario p^a habilitar los Cargam^{tos}

Si al Comerciante Español se le rebajan los Dros. de internacion de los generos q^e le pida al Comerciante extranjero al tpo. de extraerlos p^a la Luysiana y Florida, le traera este q^{tos} quiera, y si al Español, cargandolos p^a dhas. Colonias se le hace una competente

other foreign nations with which we have commercial treaties, as the draft of the *cédula* under consideration proposes.

The first is that, in view of this freedom and the small consumption or provision of supplies which the colonists of one and the other of these possessions require, Louisiana will eventually become what the colony of Sacramento was in relation to Peru, which it stocked clandestinely with all kinds of European goods despite prohibitions and the zeal of the treasury officials [*ministros de Hacienda*] to prevent it.¹⁵³ Louisiana is most advantageously situated for this, and all kinds of European goods will be sent from it to our possessions in the Windward Islands and along the whole coast of the gulf of Mexico, for it is impossible to sever all communication between them.

The second is that these circumstances will cause all the products of these colonies to go to foreign countries in return for the goods that they take there, and the same thing will happen to specie taken in exchange for the same goods sold clandestinely. Meanwhile, our Spanish commerce will continue to be deprived of the most profitable business, which will all go to the foreigner.

On this supposition, it seems to me that we should seek a means which, at the same time that it seeks to foster the growth and activity of those possessions and their inhabitants, shall not be ruinous to the commerce of the mother country. The search for such a measure is what demands preferential attention at present.

Let us determine, therefore, whether it would be well to prohibit absolutely all direct commerce with foreigners and confine it to Spain, granting the latter every possible relief by the reduction of import and export duties both in the case of foreign goods brought to the habilitated ports of the Peninsula for re-exportation to Louisiana and the Floridas and also in the case of Spanish goods, granting exemption from the duty of *extranjería*¹⁵⁴ to all ships that our merchants purchase for that commerce, etc.

If we lack goods consumed by those inhabitants we can have them brought to our habilitated ports, and with these and our own goods we shall have the necessary stocks to make up cargoes.

If the import duties on goods ordered from the foreign merchant by the Spanish merchant be reduced, when such goods are re-exported to Louisiana and Florida, the foreign merchant will bring the latter all he wants; and if the Spanish merchant upon shipping these goods to the colonies be granted a suitable reduction of the

rebaja en los Dros. de extraccion quedara contento, los embarcará á su destino, y alli los venderá quasi al mismo precio q^e los daria el extranjero, si le fuere permitido este Comercio, y por este medio que daba beneficiado el Comerciante vendedor, y el Colono comprador, teniendo este la proporcion, y ventaja de salir, y cambiar sus efectos, y producciones naturales, y aq^l la ganancia de adquirirlas, de retornarlas al P^{to} de Su exped^{on} y venderlas al extranjero, ó expenderlas en la Peninsula.

Nuestros Comerciantes Españoles podrian tambien llevar ó remitir á los P^{tos} extranjeros las producciones q^e recibiesen de la Luisiana y Floridas, y hacerse en ellos de los efectos de Consumo de aquellos Colonos p^a surtirlos de ellos, multiplicando asi las expediciones, con tanta maior proporcion, q^{ta} es la necesidad q^e tienen del Tabaco, Peleterias, y otras producciones de aquellos Países, apreciabiles de los Estrangeros.

Quasi de este propio dictamen fui, en el q^e di, y consta de este exped^{te} en el año de 88 ¿Por q^e no podria establecerse la nueva cedula adoptando solo en ella los arvitrios, q^e propone el S^{or} Gardoqui en su plan de Reglam^{to} de 12 de Oct^{re} de 91, p^r lo q^e mira á la parte de Comercio directo de estas Colonias con la Peninsula? Yo creo q^e por ahora bastaria montar este establecim^{to} sobre aquellos principios, ampliandolo en q^{to} á generos, y surtim^{tos} estrangeros destinados á la Luisiana, y Florida con la baxa de Dros. de internacion en ntros Puertos habilitados, y de extraccion para dhas. Colonias. Si esta tentativa no fuese bastante, el tpo. daría margen á pensar en otros arbitrios, pues los de entregar todo el Comercio de la Luisiana á discrecion del extranjero, cerrar toda comunicacion de aquella Colonia con las demas q^e poseemos en America, sobre ser esto ultimo violento é impracticable en muchos casos, és lo primero ruinoso á toda la nacion, q^e jamas podrá hallar medio de participar de las utilidades q^e podria dexar á ntros. Comerciantes Españoles, y á la R^l Haz^{da} p^r q^e todas iran á parar á las manos de los habilitadores de estas expediciones estrangeras, como és natural.

¿No surtimos á la America de generos estrangeros, p^r medio, y mano de ntros. Comerciantes Españoles aun con el recargo de Fletes, y Dros.? ¿Pues p^r q^e no á la Luisiana, y Floridas con rebaja de los ultimos, y maior cercania de los P^{tos} Habilitados, y q^e se

export duties, he will be content, will send them to their destination, and will sell them there at almost the same price that the foreigner would charge if permitted to engage in this commerce. This measure would benefit both the merchant who sells and the colonist who buys; for the latter would have the opportunity and advantage of an outlet and market for his articles and the products of the country, and the former would profit by obtaining these and bringing them back to the port from which he sailed and by selling them abroad or using them in the Peninsula.

Our Spanish merchants could likewise carry or send to foreign ports the products received from Louisiana and the Floridas, obtaining in them the goods to supply the needs of the colonists. They would thus multiply their operations, with advantages increasing in proportion to the demand for tobacco, peltry, and other products of those regions that have a market abroad.

I was of almost the same opinion when I made my report of 1788, as this *expediente* shows. Why would it not be possible to incorporate in the new *cédula* only those measures proposed by Señor Gardoqui in his plan of an ordinance dated October 12, 1791,¹⁵⁵ so far as concerns the matter of direct commerce between those colonies and the Peninsula? I believe that for the present it would suffice to set up this system on those principles, amplifying it in regard to foreign goods and supplies destined for Louisiana and the Floridas by the reduction of duties upon importation into our habilitated ports and upon re-exportation to the said colonies. If this attempt should prove inadequate, there would be time for us to consider other measures; for to surrender the whole commerce of Louisiana to the discretion of the foreigner, sever all communication between that colony and all our other possessions in America (this last is violent and in many cases impracticable), would in the first place be ruinous to the whole nation, which could never find a means of sharing in the advantages that this commerce might otherwise afford our Spanish merchants; and ruinous also to the royal treasury, for every advantage would ultimately find its way into the hands of the organizers of these foreign expeditions, as is natural.

Do we not supply America with foreign goods through the agency of our own Spanish merchants, despite the burden of freight charges and duties? Then why not Louisiana and the Floridas, through the reduction of duties and the closer proximity to the

habiliten en el Norte de ntra. Peninsula, de donde pueden hacerse comodam^{te} expediciones á aquellas Colonias? Es pues, preferible en mi concepto el acomodar la cedula q^e se proiecta al primitivo dictamen expuesto yá en este expediente disponiendo en ella, q^e se establezca el comercio directo desde ntros. puertos habilitados, p^r mano solo de ntros. Comerciantes Españoles, concediendo á estos todas las franquicias, q^e necesiten p^a nivelar el giro, sobre un poco mas, ó menos de lo q^e podrian proporcionarlo los Estrangeros, á los habitantes de ambas Colonias. Mad^d 7 de En^o de 1793.

EL MARQ^s DE BAJAMAR.

[*Rubricado*]

XXI. REPRESENTACIÓN DEL GOBERNADOR Y VARIOS VECINOS DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL SOBRE EL COMERCIO.

San Agustín, 10 de Enero de 1793

[Pág. 1]

†

Sⁿ Agustin de la Florida 10 de Enero 1793.

El Gobernador D. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, remite una representacion de varios vecinos de aquella Capital.

Exponen: que la Florida Oriental estaba reducida en su Poblacion al recinto de dña Ciudad quando España por el tratado de 63 la cedió à los Yngleses.

En el tiempo que perteneciò a la Ynglaterra hizo muchos progresos [pág. 2] debidos principalmente à las libertades y franquicias con que el Gobierno favoreciò su Comercio. El año de 82 pasaron de 50U barriles de Brea, Alquitrán, y Trementina, los que se extrageron para Nueva York, Yslas de America, y aun para Europa.

Desde que por el tratado de paz del sig^{te} año se restituyò à Esp^a empezó á despoblarse [pág. 3] y a decaer su Comercio, cuya decadencia ha continuado h^{ta} el miserable estado en que se halla.

Proponen aquellos habitantes como el unico medio para su restablecimiento que V. M. se sirva permitirles el Com^o con las Naciones extrangeras libre de dñs. ò pagandolos muy moderados. Los

Hacen presente el estado de miseria, y despoblacion en que se halla la

Prov^a Proponen como unico recurso, y urgente el Com^o libre con las demas Naciones.

El Gobernador conviene en que la situacion de la

Florida es deplorable en tal grado que yá no van Pobladores; los q^e han ido se retiran y à estos les seguirán [pág. 2]

los demas h^{ta} quedar desiertos.

habilitated ports and others that may be habilitated in the northern part of the peninsula, whence expeditions can be conveniently sent to those colonies? It is, therefore, my opinion that it is preferable to adjust the *cédula* to the original opinion¹⁵⁶ in this *expediente*, stipulating that direct commerce from our habilitated ports shall be carried on solely by our own Spanish merchants, granting the latter all the privileges that may be necessary in order to establish the traffic at approximately the same level as if foreigners were permitted to trade with the inhabitants of the two colonies. Madrid, January 7, 1793.

EL MARQUÉS DE BAJAMAR.

[*Rubric*]

XXI. REPRESENTATION WITH RESPECT TO COMMERCE
BY THE GOVERNOR AND VARIOUS INHABITANTS OF
EAST FLORIDA.¹⁵⁷

St. Augustine, January 10, 1793

[P. 1]

†

St. Augustine, Florida, January 10, 1793.

Governor Don Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada transmits a representation of various inhabitants of that capital.

They declare that East Florida was reduced, with respect to its population, to the district of that city when Spain ceded it to the English by the treaty of 1763.

During the time that it belonged to England it made great progress, [p. 2] chiefly because of the liberties and privileges with which the government favored its commerce. In 1782, it exported more than 50,000 barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine to New York and the American islands, and even to Europe.

With its restoration to Spain by the treaty of peace of the following year began its depopulation [p. 3] and the decline of its commerce, and this decline has continued until it has reached its present wretched condition.

Its inhabitants propose as the sole means of rehabilitating it that your Majesty graciously permit them to trade with foreign nations, free of duty or on the payment of only very moderate duties.

They set forth the miserable situation and depopulation of the province.

They propose as the sole remedy, and an urgent one, free trade with other nations.

The governor agrees with them that the situation of Florida is so deplorable that settlers no longer go there; those who had already come are withdrawing and will be followed [p. 2] by the others until it is deserted.

Ruega encarecidam^{te} se le comunique la res^{ta} de

V. M. con la brevedad posible antes que acabe de despoblarse aquella Provincia.

[En otra letra:]

Recuerdese al Secret^o del Consejo de Estado para que insinue la brevedad del Exp^{to} que para en el.

Buques extranjeros satisfaran el de tt^s que exigen à los Españoles en todos sus P^{tos} y el de extrangeria en los Art^s que no sean producciones, ó frutos de la Provincia.

Los excesivos dños. que ha impuesto el Congreso Americano à los frutos, y manufacturas Españolas proporcionan que estableciendose Almacenes en la Florida de ellos fuesen los Anglo Americanos [pág. 5] à comprarlos con dinero, ò con sus frutos, y ganados, de cuya introduccion resultaria entre otras ventajas que en tiempo de escasez se surtan las Colonias Españolas, y en el de Guerra la Esquadra, y Tropas.

Solicitan que V. M. dè asilo, y declare á Sⁿ Agustin P^{to} libre para los extranjeros deudores que vayan à refugiarse, ò se les conceda Moratoria [pág. 6] señalandoles cierto termino para la liquidacion, y pago de sus deudas.

El Gobernador dice que será convente el Com^o libre para que en los P^{tos} extranjeros puedan tener salida los frutos que no se despacharan en los nuestros como son el Añil por su calidad, la Brea, Alquitran, Tablazon, Zumo de Naranjas agrias [pág. 7] y otros.

El Comercio de Peleteria con los Yndios que hace la Casa Ynglesa de Panton Leslie y Compañia, opina Quesada que debe subsistir à lo menos h^{ta} que tengan fin las comociones que en la actualidad agitan à aquella gente, y queden arreglados nuestros limites Occidentales con los Estados [pág. 8] Unidos.

En quanto al asilo p^a los deudores insolventes, opina el Gobernador se les conceda algun termino p^a el pago de sus deudas, segun lo executan otras Naciones en iguales casos, especialmente los Americanos despues de la ultima Guerra, y los Yngleses à favor de sus Vasallos, que se retiraron entonces de la [pág. 9] Florida à las Yslas Bahamas, y otras Colonias Britanicas.

Pide que la resolucⁿ se le comunique con la brevedad posible, pues las instrucciones q^e h^{ta} ahora se le han dado son tan pocas, y generales, que deseando por una parte observar las Leyes, y las R^s ordenes, y por otra dudando si en una Colonia naciente [pág. 10] mejor se diria agonizante como es esta (espresion suya) se puede proceder como en un gobierno yà establecido se vè en un continuo conflicto sobre el metodo que ha de adoptar para no excederse.

Foreign ships will pay the tonnage duty required by foreigners of Spanish [p. 4] ships in all their own ports, as well as the duty of *extranjería* on all articles not the products or fruits of the province.

The excessive duties which the American Congress has imposed upon Spanish produce and manufactures afford an opportunity to establish stores in Florida where the Anglo-Americans may come [p. 5] to buy them in return for their own money, produce, and livestock. From the importation of these articles would arise among others the advantage that in time of scarcity the Spanish colonies could be supplied, and in time of war the fleet and troops.

They request that your Majesty give asylum to, and declare St. Augustine a free port for, foreign debtors who may take refuge there, or grant them a moratorium, [p. 6] fixing a certain term for the liquidation and payment of their debts.

The governor says that free trade will be expedient in order that a market may be provided in foreign ports for articles that are not salable in our own, such as indigo (because of its quality), pitch, tar, lumber, the juice of sour oranges, [p. 7] and other things.

As for the fur trade with the Indians, which is carried on by the English house of Panton, Leslie and Company,¹⁵⁹ Quesada thinks this should continue at least until the commotions that are at present disturbing those people are ended, and until our western boundaries with the United States [p. 8] are settled.

As for the asylum for insolvent debtors, the governor thinks that they should be granted some time for the payment of their debts, as is the custom of other nations in similar cases, especially the Americans since the late war and the English in behalf of their subjects who withdrew at that time from [p. 9] Florida to the Bahamas and other British colonies.

He asks that the decision be communicated to him with all possible despatch, since the instructions that have hitherto been given him are so few and vague that, desiring on the one hand to observe the laws and royal orders and on the other hand doubting whether an infant, [p. 10] or rather dying, colony such as this one is (the governor's own expression) can be treated as a well established government, he finds himself in a perpetual dilemma over the method that he should adopt in order not to go too far.

He begs earnestly that your Majesty's decision be communicated to him with all possible despatch before the depopulation of the province is complete.¹⁵⁸

[In another hand:] Remind the secretary of the Consejo de Estado of this, so that he may suggest the brevity of the *expediente* which it has on hand.^{158a}

Nota

La Direccion de Com^o dió su dictamen el a^o de 90, sobre el de la Florida Oriental difiriendo [pág. 11] à la solicitud que ahora hacen, ò por mejor decir repiten aquellos habitantes. Este dictamen se halla en el Expediente sobre el Reglamento de Poblacion, y Comercio de aquella Prov^a, el qual, tal vez no se despachara con la brevedad [posible: *rayado en el original*] que exige el Gobernador para la resoluc^o de esta instancia. En [pág. 12] atencion pues à la urgencia, si fuese del agrado de V. M. puede permitirse provisionalm^{te} à los habitantes de la Florida Oriental el Com^o con los extrangeros.

El asilo p^a los deudores insolventes, solo debe entenderse para sus Personas y bienes q. hayan adquirido despues de su evasion concediendoles Moratoria por el [pág. 13] tiempo que fuere [*sic*] del agrado de V. M. para pagar à sus acrehedores; pero no debe comprehender los bienes, que hayan conducido consigo, y mucho menos los Negros, pues estos propiam^{te} son robados. La Justicia se ha de preferir à qualquiera interes, y nada hay mas respetable, que la [pág. 14] propiedad.

A 20 de Abril de 1793.

[Las páginas 15-18 *en blanco*]

XXII. ACTAS DEL SUPREMO CONSEJO DE ESTADO.

3 de Mayo de 1793

Consejo de Estado de 3. de Mayo de 1793.

Hacienda de Indias.

Presidio el Rey.
Asistieron los Sres.
Aranda, Decano,
Valdes,
Campo de Alange,
Asalto,
Gardoqui,
Alecudia,
Acuña.

Habiendo mandado el Rey se viese hoy el expediente sobre el Comercio de la Luisiana, que en el de 16. de Noviembre proximo pasado se acordó turnase por los señores todos, para que con mayor detencion se enterasen de todo lo que ha pasado desde que aquella Provincia entro en el dominio de España, y formasen concepto de lo que, segun las circunstancias de ella, conviene establecer, le traté en el estado que se halla, visto ya por los Sres. Aranda,

Note

The *Dirección de Comercio*¹⁶⁰ defined its opinion on East Florida in 1790 disapproving [p. 11] of the request that its inhabitants now make, or rather repeat. This opinion is in the collection of papers concerning the ordinance on the settlement and commerce of that province, which may perhaps not be concluded with the despatch demanded by the governor for the decision of this petition. In [p. 12] view, therefore, of the urgency of the case, if your Majesty were willing, the inhabitants of East Florida might be permitted provisionally to trade with foreigners.

The asylum for insolvent debtors should only be understood to extend to their persons and to the property which they may have acquired since their escape, and for the payment of their creditors they may be granted a moratorium for [p. 13] whatever period your Majesty pleases; but this should not include the property which they may have brought with them, and least of all Negroes, for these are strictly stolen property.¹⁶¹ Justice must be preferred to any interest whatever, and there is nothing that is more deserving of respect than [p. 14] property.

April 20, 1793.¹⁶²

[Pp. 15-18 *blank*]

XXII. MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE SUPREMO
CONSEJO DE ESTADO.¹⁶³

May 3, 1793

Consejo de Estado, May 3, 1793.

Colonial Treasury.

The king having ordered consideration today of the *expediente* on the commerce of Louisiana, which it had been agreed on the 16th of last November should be routed in turn to all the gentlemen [of the Consejo] in order that they might be better informed after close study of all that had occurred since that province came under the dominion of Spain, and so that they might plan, in accordance with attendant circumstances, what it was best to decree, I had it discussed as it is after examination by Señores Aranda, Valdés, Al-

The King presided.
Present: Señores
Aranda, Dean,
Valdés,
Campo de Alange,
Asalto,
Gardoqui,
Alcudia,
Acuña.

[*Propuesta:*]
Comercio de la
Luisiana.

Almodovar, Valdes, Bajamar, Caballero, Astorga, Campo de Alange y Campomanes.

Volvi a leer la minuta de reglamento que presentó el Sor. Gardoqui, y los dictámenes que han dado por escrito los Sres, Valdes, Bajamar y Campomanes: y considerando el Consejo que desde aquella epoca han variado infinito las circunstancias por la guerra con Francia que ha sobrevenido; y que no es posible formar Reglamento solido hasta ver el sistema que con la paz toman los asuntos generales; resolvió S.M. que se suspenda la expedicion del Reglamento, y que todo lo relativo al comercio de dha. Provincia se maneje interinamente por ordenes particulares del Ministerio de Hacienda, dirixidas a que en ella no falte la introducion de generos necesarios, ni la extraccion de sus frutos.

Que a este fin se prorroguen en la parte que convenga la Cedula de 2. [*i.e.*, 22] de Enero de 1782. y las ordenes posteriores, declarando que la Luisiana pueda comerciar directamente con aquel [*sic*] Puerto de las Naciones amigas y aliadas, y retornar desde ellos, con la misma sugesion de hacer escala, y tomar el pase en alguno de nuestros Puertos de Galicia, que podra ser Corcubion o en otro a la Banda del Mediterraneo.

Que las Naciones aliadas o amigas pueden comerciar desde sus puertos en la forma que hasta aqui se ha executado desde Burdeos, San Maló y Ruan; pero con la misma sugesion de hacer escala, y tomar el pase a la ida.

Que se habiliten para este comercio de la Luisiana y no para los demas de America los Puertos de Bilbao y San Sebastian, con la propia obligacion de escala y pase en Galicia, y con las exenciones y gracias que por lo respectivo a derechos se proponen en el Artículo 22. de la minuta del nuevo Reglamento.

Que sobre todo se estimule a nuestros comerciantes de los puertos habilitados a que hagan expediciones a la Luisiana con generos y efectos nacionales o extrangeros, sin prohibicion de ninguno, y con las gracias y libertades que asi en quanto a derechos, como a todo lo demas, se especifican en dha. minuta.

I que el comercio de las Floridas continúe sobre el pie interino que ahora esta en practica.

EUG^o DE LLAGUNO.

modóvar, Bajamar, Caballero, Astorga, Campo de Alange, and Campomanes.

[*Agenda:*]
Commerce of
Louisiana.

I read again the minute of an ordinance presented by Señor Gardoqui and the written opinions submitted by Señores Valdés, Bajamar, and Campomanes.¹⁶⁴ Since the Consejo was of the opinion that circumstances have greatly changed since that time, because of the war with France which has supervened,¹⁶⁵ and that it is impossible to dictate a consistent ordinance until after seeing the trend of affairs in general upon the [restoration of] peace, his Majesty was pleased to resolve: that the issuance of the said ordinance be suspended, and that everything connected with the commerce of the above-mentioned province be handled provisionally by special orders of the treasury department, devoted to the end that neither the importation of necessary goods into that province nor the exportation of its produce shall fail;

That for this purpose the cédula of January 2 [*i.e.*, 22], 1782, and subsequent orders shall be prorogued in so far as it may be convenient, with a declaration that Louisiana may trade direct with all the ports of allied and friendly nations,¹⁶⁶ and return therefrom with the single obligation of calling and obtaining a permit at one of our ports in Galicia (this may be Corcubión), or at some port on the Mediterranean coast;

That allied and friendly nations may trade from their ports [to Louisiana] in the same form in which this has hitherto been done from Bordeaux, St. Malo, and Rouen, but with the same requirement that they shall call and obtain a permit on the outward passage;

That for this commerce with Louisiana, but not with the rest of America, the ports of Bilbao and San Sebastián shall be habilitated, with the same requirement to call and obtain a permit in Galicia and with the exemptions and privileges in regard to duties proposed in Article 22 of the minute of the new ordinance;

That above all, the merchants of our habilitated ports shall be encouraged to make shipments to Louisiana of national or foreign goods and articles, without any prohibition whatever, and with the concessions and privileges which, in respect to duties as in every other matter, are specified in the above-mentioned minute;

And that the commerce of the Floridas shall continue on the same provisional footing on which it now stands in practice.¹⁶⁷

EUGENIO DE LLAGUNO.

XXIII. REAL ORDEN QUE ARREGLA EL COMERCIO DE LA LUISIANA Y LAS FLORIDAS.

Aranjuez, 9 de Junio de 1793

[Pág. 1.] No siendo posible, que los Vecinos de la Luisiana puedan en las actuales circunstancias hacer sus Expediciones á los Puertos de Francia, habilitados p^a su Comercio, segun les estaba permitido por R^l Cédula de 22 de Enero de 1782, y oñs posteriores: Y considerando S. M. que aquellos habitantes y los de las Floridas no pueden subsistir sin que se proporcione salida á sus frutos, y se les facilite medios de adquirir las producciones y efectos, que necesitan para su consumo: con este fin, y con el de fomentar el Comercio nacional, el de dñas. Provincias, y su agricultura; se ha dignado mandar, que por ahora, y mientras no se formaliza un Reglamento, acomodado à su situacion y circunstancias, y al sistema general de Comercio de los demas dominios de América, se prorrogue y amplie interinam^{te} la expresada Cédula, y que se observe lo contenido en los Artículos siguientes.

1º Sera permitido á los habitantes de las referidas Provincias, comerciar libremente en Europa y América con todas las Naciones amigas, que tengan tratados de Comercio con esta Corona; y podrán hacer sus Expediciones [pág. 2] desde Nueva Orleans, Panzacola, y Sⁿ Agustin, a qualquiera de los Puertos de las dñas. Naciones, y admitir las que desde ellos se les dirijan. Pero con la sujecion de que á su retorno, ó ida à Nueva Orleans, Panzacola y Sⁿ Agustin han de hacer escala en el Puerto de Corcubion de Galicia, ó en el de Alicante, y tomar el Pase, que deberá dàr el Juez de arribadas de este, ó el Subdelegado de Marina de aquel, en calidad de tal Juez de Arribadas, sin cuyo preciso documento, no se admitirán las Embarcaz^s en aquellos Puertos.

2º Los Generos, frutos y efectos con que se haga este Comercio directo entre esos Colonos y las Naciones estrangeras, pagarán quince por ciento de importacion, y seis por ciento de exportacion, pero la introduccion de Negros será libre de dños. como hasta aqui, y solo pagarán el seis por ciento, los frutos ó Plata que se extraigan para comprarlos, con cuyo unico objeto, se permitira la extraccion de plata.

XXIII. ROYAL ORDER REGULATING THE COMMERCE OF LOUISIANA AND THE FLORIDAS.¹⁶⁸

Aranjuez, June 9, 1793

[P. 1] Since it is not possible, under the present circumstances, for the people of Louisiana to make shipments to the ports of France habilitated for their commerce, as they were permitted to do by the royal *cédula* of January 22, 1782, and by subsequent orders; and since his Majesty considers that the inhabitants of Louisiana and those of the Floridas cannot subsist unless they are given an outlet for their produce and are provided with the means of obtaining the productions and articles that they need for their consumption; therefore for this purpose and in order to promote the national commerce, and that of the said provinces, as well as their agriculture, he has been pleased to order that, for the present and until an ordinance adapted to their situation and circumstances and to the general commercial system of the other American dominions be drawn up, the aforesaid *cédula* shall be provisionally prorogued and amplified and that what is set forth in the following articles shall be observed.

1. The inhabitants of the aforesaid provinces shall be permitted to trade freely in Europe and America with all friendly nations having treaties of commerce with this Crown;¹⁶⁹ and they may make shipments [p. 2] from New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine to any port whatsoever of those nations, and admit shipments sent to them from those places. But it is required that, on the return passage or trip to New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine, they call at the port of Corcubión in Galicia, or at that of Alicante,¹⁷⁰ and obtain a permit, which shall be issued by the *juez de arribadas* of the latter, or by the *subdelegado de marina* of the former acting in the capacity of *juez de arribadas*. Without this indispensable document, vessels shall not be admitted into those ports.

2. The goods, produce, and other articles with which this direct commerce is carried on between those colonists and foreign nations shall pay an import duty of fifteen per cent and an export duty of six per cent;¹⁷¹ but the importation of Negroes shall be duty free as hitherto, and the produce or specie exported to purchase them shall only pay a duty of six per cent.¹⁷² This is the only purpose for which the exportation of specie shall be permitted.¹⁷³

3º El Comercio entre España y las expresadas Colonias, quedará al mismo tiempo libre y expedito; y S. M. mirará con especial benevolencia á los que de qualquier modo contribuyan à fomentarlo y mantenerlo.

4º Los Españoles podrán hacer este Comercio desde los Puertos habilitados para el de Yndias, en Embarcaz^s que sean propias suyas, sin participacion de estrangeros, con los correspondientes [pág. 3] Registros y Patentes de Navegacion, en cuyo despacho se observarán por las Aduanas, y Jueces de Arribadas, las formalidades prescritas en el Reglam^{to} de 12 de Octubre de 1778.

5º Y para remover de una vez el pñal obstáculo que ha podido impedirlo hasta ahora: permite S. M. se introduzcan en los dñs Puertos habilitados, qualesquiera géneros, frutos ó efectos estrangeros que vengan destinados á la Luisiana, y Floridas, aunque por otra parte esté prohibida su introduccion: y que del mismo modo, se pueda retornar de aquellas Colonias el Tabaco, y qualquier otro Artículo, cuyo Comercio esté prohibido á los particulares: con tal que despues se extraiga á Reynos estrangeros.

6º Los referidos géneros, frutos ó efectos prohibidos, cuya introduccion se permite solam^{te} para facilitar estas Expediciones, y sus retornos, se depositarán, si se desembarcaren en las Aduanas de los mismos Puertos habilitados, y no saldrán de ally, sino para ponerse á bordo de las Embarcaciones q^e lo hubieren de llevar à su destino.

7º A beneficio del mismo Comercio, y p^a fomentar la Agricultura de dñas. Colonias, prohíbe S. M. la introduccion del Arroz estrangero en los Puertos de España; é igual preferencia concederá á qualquier otro fruto, que en ellas se cultive, siempre que pueda abastecer con comodidad, al consumo de esta Peninsula.

8º Los géneros, y frutos, y efectos que sálgan de los Puertos habilitados de España para este Comercio, serán libres de todo dño de extraccion, sean Nacionales ó Extrangeros; y los dñs. q^e estos últimos hubiesen pagados á su introduccion, se devolverán integros à los [pág. 4] cargadores.

9º A la entrada en dñas. Colonias pagarán tres por ciento los géneros, frutos, y efectos estrangeros, que vayan de dñs Puertos habilitados: pero los Nacionales serán libres de todo dño.

10º Tampoco se pagará dño alguno de extraccion por los efec-

3. Commerce between Spain and the aforesaid colonies shall remain at the same time free and unhampered, and his Majesty will regard with special benevolence those who may in any way contribute to the promotion and maintenance of it.

4. Spaniards may carry on this commerce from the ports habilitated for trade with the Indies,¹⁷⁴ in their own vessels, without participation by foreigners, and with the proper [p. 3] registers and patents of navigation, in issuing which the customs service and *jueces de arribadas* shall observe the formalities prescribed in the ordinance of October 12, 1778.¹⁷⁵

5. And in order to remove at once the principal obstacle which has stood in its way, his Majesty permits the importation into the said habilitated ports of whatever foreign goods, produce, or other articles are brought to be sent on to Louisiana and the Floridas, even though their importation elsewhere shall be prohibited.¹⁷⁶ He likewise permits returns from those colonies to be made in tobacco or any other article that individuals are prohibited from trading in, provided it shall afterwards be exported to foreign kingdoms.

6. The aforesaid prohibited goods, produce, or other articles, the importation of which is permitted solely in order to facilitate these shipments and returns, shall be placed in storage if they are unloaded at the customhouses of the habilitated ports and are not to be taken thence except to be put on board the ships which are to take them to their destination.

7. For the benefit of this commerce and in order to promote the agriculture of the said colonies, his Majesty prohibits the importation of foreign rice into the ports of Spain;¹⁷⁷ and like preferential treatment will be granted any other produce that may be raised in those colonies, provided it can be easily supplied in sufficient quantity for the needs of this peninsula.

8. The goods, produce, and other articles taken out of the habilitated ports of Spain for this commerce shall be exempt from all export duties, whether they are of national or foreign origin; and the full amount of the duties that the latter may have paid upon importation shall be returned to the [p. 4] shippers.

9. Upon arrival in the said colonies, foreign goods, produce, and other articles shipped from the said habilitated ports shall pay a duty of three per cent; but those of national origin shall be admitted duty free.

10. Nor shall any export duty be paid in the case of the articles,

tos, frutos ó Plata que se traigan de retorno para dñs Puertos habilitados, en los quales será igualmente libre su introduccion.

11º Será asimismo libre de todos dñs la reextraccion de los frutos, ó efectos de dñas Provincias, de los Puertos de España, para Países Estrangeros; y la internacion de los que se traigan tierra à dentro, para el consumo interior de esta Peninsula.

12º En la libertad de dñs concedida á los referidos frutos y efectos, se entenderán comprendidos los arbitrios ò dñs municipales, que por uso antiguo, privilegio ó qualquier otro titulo se acostumbraren cobrar en los Puertos ó lugares, donde entren ó se consuman.

13º Para gozar de las exenciones, que quedan declaradas en los cinco Articulos que anteceden han de llevar las Embarcaciones de ida, Registro completo de su carga, formado por las respectivas Aduanas, con distincion de efectos Nacionales, y estrangeros; dexando antes los Capitanes otorgada obligacion, y fianza de presentar dño. Registro en el Puerto de su destino, y traer Certificacion de haberlo cumplido. Ygual Registro deberán traer las Embarcaciones de vuelta, con Certificacion de ser [pág. 5] toda su carga de Producciones de aquel Pais: y à los frutos ó efectos que se metieren tierra á dentro, deberá acompañar el correspondiente despacho, dado por la Aduana del Puerto, por donde se hayan introducido.

14º Las Embarcaciones propios de Españoles, que habiendo ido desde España á la Luisiana y Floridas, y cumplido ally su Registro, quisieren retornar frutos en derecho á los Puertos estrangeros de Europa, podrán hacerlo, pagando solam^{te} tres por ciento por los dñs. de extraccion.

15º Como la gracia concedida en el Artículo anterior, se dirige á facilitar, y hacer mas ventajosas las Expediciones, que salgan de los Puertos de España, se declara, que nunca deberán gozar de ella las Embarcaz^s que solo se ocupan en el Comercio directo, é inmediato de esa Colonia, con los Países estrangeros.

16º Todas las Embarcaz^s propias de Vasallos de S. M. que salgan de Nueva Orleans, Panzacola y Sⁿ Agustin para Puertos estrangeros, han de llevar Registro completo de su carga, para presentarlo á los Cónsules Españoles residentes en ellos: y quando salgan de dñs Puertos, han de sacar igual manifesto, firmado por el [pág. 6] Consul, para presentarlo en los de las referidas Prov^s bien entendido, que las que procedan en su primer viage de los Puertos de España quando se restituyan à ellos, han de presentar

produce, and specie brought in return to the said habilitated ports, into which their importation shall likewise be free.

11. The produce or articles of the said provinces shall likewise be exempt from all duties upon their re-exportation from the ports of Spain to foreign countries, as also upon their introduction into the country for consumption in the interior of the peninsula.

12. The exemption from duties granted the said produce and articles shall be understood to include the municipal excise-taxes or duties which by virtue of ancient usage, privilege, or any other right it has been the custom to collect in the ports or towns where they enter or are consumed.

13. In order to enjoy the exemptions set forth in the five preceding articles, outward bound vessels must carry a complete register of their cargo, drawn up by the respective customhouses and distinguishing between national and foreign articles. Before sailing the captains must execute a guaranteed bond to present the said register in the port of destination and to bring back a certified statement that it was so presented. Vessels returning must bring a similar register and a certified statement [p. 5] that their entire cargo consists of products of that country; and the produce and other articles which may be taken into the interior shall be accompanied by the proper clearance papers issued by the customhouse of the port by which they have entered.

14. Vessels belonging to Spaniards, which, having gone to Louisiana and the Floridas and duly presented their registers, wish to return with produce directly to foreign ports of Europe, shall be permitted to do so, paying only an export duty of three per cent.

15. Since the privilege granted in the preceding article is designed to facilitate and render more profitable the expeditions made from the ports of Spain, it is declared that it shall never be enjoyed by vessels that are occupied exclusively in direct and immediate commerce between that colony and foreign countries.

16. All vessels belonging to subjects of his Majesty which shall leave New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine for foreign ports, must carry a complete register of their cargo in order to present it to the Spanish consuls resident in the latter ports. And when they leave the said [foreign] ports they must obtain a similar manifest, signed by the [p. 6] consul, in order to present it in the ports of the aforesaid provinces. It shall be clearly understood that vessels making their original voyage from the ports of Spain shall,

ademas del manifiesto de la carga q^e traigan, el cumplido del Registro con que salieron, para cancelar su obligacion.

17^o Los Puertos de Bilbao y Sⁿ Sebastian, que por estar situados en Provincias exēntas, se reputan como estrangeros, podrán en calidad de tales comerciar con esas Colonias en uso de la libertad concedida en esta orden, pagando los dñs que p^a ella se imponen. Pero considerando quanto importa estrechar, y multiplicar las Relaciones mercantiles de la Metròpoli, con aquellas Colonias, y que el recargo de dñs. haria inútil la libertad para dñs. dos Puertos; se concede à las Expediciones, que por ellos se hagan las mismas exenciones, gracias y franquicias, que quedan declaradas para las de los Puertos habilitados; con sola esta difēncia, que las que se hagan desde Bilbao, y Sⁿ Sebastian, han de hacer escala, y tomar el Pase en Santander, para seguir despues su viage a dñas Provincias.

[Pág. 7] 18^o A las Embarcaz^s procedentes de los Puertos habilitados de esta Peninsula, de los de Bilbao, y Sⁿ Sebastian, ó de los Estrangeros que naveguen à Nueva Orleans, Panzacola y Sⁿ Agustin, será prohibido el tocar en Puerto alguno de los Dominios de S. M. en America, baxo las penas q^e prescriben las Leyes: sobre cuya observancia estarán muy à la mira los respectivos Xefes.

19^o Para precaver los inconvenientes q^e se podrán seguir, si se abusa de las gracias que van dispensadas, quiere S. M. que no se haga desde Nueva Orleans, Panzacola, y Sⁿ Agustin Expedicion alguna á las Yslas, y demas Dominios españoles de America, à no ser con causa muy grave, urgente, y justificada; en cuyo solo caso dará el Gob^{or} respectivo la licencia, pero sin permitir el embarque de otros efectos, que de los frutos y producciones de dñas Provincias.

20^o S. M. dispensa por ahora à todos sus Vasallos del dño. de Extrangeria, media annata, y qualquiera otro, que deban pagar por las Embarcaciones estrangeras, q^e adquieran, y destinen à este Comercio, justificando ser suyas en absoluta y entera propiedad segun [pág. 8] ordenanza ante los respectivos Juez^s de Yndias.

21^o Para la justa exaccion de los dñs. que quedan señalados formará el Gobernador è Yntendente de la Luisiana nuevos Aranceles, y los remitirá con la posible prontitud para la aprobacion de

upon returning thither, present in addition to the manifest of the cargo which they bring, a statement proving the presentation of the register with which they sailed, in order to cancel their bond.

17. The ports of Bilbao and San Sebastián, which, being in exempted provinces, are regarded as foreign, shall be permitted in that capacity to trade with those colonies with the freedom granted in this order, paying the duties stipulated herein. But considering how important it is to tighten and multiply the commercial relations of the mother country with those colonies and that the surcharge of duties would render this freedom useless to the two said ports, expeditions made from them are granted the same exemptions, concessions, and privileges that have been stipulated in the case of the habilitated ports, with only this one difference, namely, that vessels sailing from Bilbao and San Sebastian shall call and obtain a permit at Santander, in order that they may then continue their voyage to the said provinces.

[P. 7] 18. Vessels proceeding from the habilitated ports of this peninsula, from the ports of Bilbao and San Sebastián, or from foreign ports, and sailing to New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine, are prohibited from calling at any port in the dominions of his Majesty in America, under the penalties prescribed by law. The respective chiefs shall be very alert in the enforcement of this article.

19. In order to prevent the inconveniencias which might arise from the abuse of the concessions that have been granted, it is his Majesty's wish that, except for a very grave, urgent, and just reason, no voyages shall be made from New Orleans, Pensacola, and St. Augustine to the Spanish islands and other Spanish dominions in America.¹⁷⁸ In such cases alone shall the respective governors grant a license; but it is not permitted that any other articles may be embarked than the produce and other productions of the said provinces.

20. For the present, his Majesty exempts all his subjects from the duties of *extranjería*, *media anata*,¹⁷⁹ and all others that have to be paid on foreign vessels, which might be acquired and assigned to this commerce. Proof of their absolute and entire ownership of these vessels must be made in accordance with [p. 8] the ordinance, before the respective judges of the Indies.

21. For the just collection of the duties specified, the governor and intendant of Louisiana shall draw up new tariffs and transmit them with all possible despatch for his Majesty's approval.¹⁸⁰ In

S. M. recaudandose entre tanto los citados dñs. por los anteriores Aranceles, ó por los avaluos que se juzguen mas arreglados.

Todo lo qual participo á V. E. de su R^l Oñn. para su intelig^a y cumplimiento, y afin de que expida á los respectivos Gobernadores de la Luisiana y Floridas, las q^e son consiguientes, á q^e tenga su debido efecto esta soberana resolucion. Dios gñe. á V. E. m^g a^g Aranjuez 9 de Junio de 1793.

DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

[*Dirección:*] S^{or} Capⁿ gñal de la Ysla de Cuba, Luisiana y Floridas.

Es copia de su original.

GARDOQUI.

Es copia de su original que para en el Archivo de esta Secretaria de Gobierno de mi cargo, à que me refiero. Nueva Orleans diez y ocho de Septiembre de mil setecientos noventa, y tres.

ANDRES LOPEZ ARMESTO.

[*Rubricado*]

XXIV. REPRESENTACIÓN DE VARIOS VECINOS DE SAN AGUSTÍN SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL.

San Agustín, 27 de Noviembre de 1794

[Pág. 1]

Señor

Dup^{4o} Los Yndividuos abajo firmados vasallos de V. M. y vecinos de esta ciudad puestos a sus Reales Plantas con toda sumision y respecto, se atreven á dirijir al Trono de Justicia sus justas quejas que se hallan sufocadas por el largo espacio de mas de diez años y medio, bajo el penoso yugo de las restricciones infundadas de un Gobierno que solo atiende à aquellos sujetos que por fines particulares les acomodan. Antes de manifestar à V. M. el pñal motivo que nos impele à noticiar algunas de las injusticias que experimentamos, seria necesario recorrer la imaginacion por todo aquel tiempo, y dar una idea aunque sucinta de lo que padecemos, y hemos padecido; pero para esto se necesitaria que hubiese entre nosotros [pág. 2] persona de instruccion que pudiera desempeñar esta larga

the meanwhile the said duties shall be collected in conformity with the former tariffs or according to the valuations that are deemed most suitable.¹⁸¹

All of which I transmit to your Excellency by royal order for your information and compliance, and in order that you may issue to the respective governors of Louisiana and the Floridas appropriate orders to give due effect to this royal decision. May God preserve your Excellency many years. Aranjuez, June 9, 1793.

DIEGO DE GARDOQUI.

[*Addressed:*] Señor Captain General of the Island of Cuba, Louisiana, and the Floridas.

A copy of its original.

GARDOQUI.

A copy of its original which is in the archives of this department of government under my charge, to which I refer. New Orleans, September 18, 1793.

ANDRÉS LÓPEZ ARMESTO.

[*Rubric*]

XXIV. REPRESENTATION WITH REGARD TO THE COMMERCE OF EAST FLORIDA BY VARIOUS INHABITANTS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.¹⁸²

St. Augustine, November 27, 1794

[P. 1]

Sire

The undersigned, subjects of your Majesty and residents of this city, with all submission and respect before your royal feet, venture to address to the throne of justice their just complaints, which have been stifled for the long space of ten and one-half years under the heavy yoke of the unwarranted restrictions of a government which takes care of none but those who serve its private interests. Before declaring to your Majesty the principal reason that impels us to make known some of the injustices that we experience, it would be necessary to review that whole period and give an idea, succinct though it might be, of what we are suffering and have suffered; but for this purpose it would require among us [p. 2] an educated person who could compose this lengthy narrative without

Duplicate.

narracion sin hacerla molesta, y sì, eficaz para mover la piedad de V. M. a su remedio. No será justo que por este temor dejemos de exponer à V. M. lo que encontramos ser necesario en conciencia para el bien general de los Vecinos de este infeliz destino, y por el servicio de V. M. que de ello puede resultar; Y asi lo executaremos en el mejor modo que podamos, supliendo nuestro zelo patriotico a la elegancia del estilo, y ciñendonos precisam^{te} á solo la materia que nos hemos propuesto, ú alguna otra de la mayor consecuencia como las mas dignas de expresarse.

En el mes de Junio de 1784 llegò à este Puerto el comboy con que se tomó posesion de esta Provincia en nombre de V. M. Entre los muchos habitantes Yngleses que existian en ella, encontramos la Casa de los S^{res} Panton Leslie y Compañia, que entre otros ramos de comercio tenian el de los Yndios como otro cualquier [pág. 3] Britanico en el tiempo de su Gobierno. A favor de esta dha Casa, hizo el Gobernador d^{na} Vicente Manuel de Zespedes, representaciones à V. M. alegando y abultando tanta infinidad de cosas, cual se puede facilmente discurrir por haber sido dñas representaciones repetidisimas; (crehemos fueron diez y siete) y consiguieron en premio de tanto trabajo, que V. M. aprovase el que la citada Casa permaneciera en esta Provincia (en calidad de por ahora) para continuar con el comercio de los Yndios, y en el de la peleteria, con generos Yngleses por ser muy acomodados, al gusto de ellos, segun lo manifestaban las citadas representaciones.

Permitanos V. M. ahora consideremos, quanto sería el interes de aquel Gobernador, quando le vemos llevar con tanto teson el empeño de fixar à esta Casa, y por quien hace diez y siete representaciones, que no crehemos tenga exemplar, ni aun quando fuera preciso hacerlas á favor del Padre que le dió el Ser. [pág. 4] ¿Sería por ventura el zelo inseparable de un buen vasallo, por el servicio que resultaba á V. M.? ¿Sería acaso por el bien y fomento de la Provincia, y de los pocos Subditos que se retiraron aqui en aquel entonces à experimentar miserias, y á quienes el Paternal amor de V. M. nunca ha desamparado? No por cierto; Si no por que Leslie, (que es el unico de la Casa que se halla en esta Provincia) tubo cuidado de anticipar su gratitud, y continuarla quando el asunto lo requeria; no faltandole politica para comprehender lo mucho que le convenia, nì quien le impusiera del sistema de nuestro Go-

making it tedious, and yet effective in obtaining a remedy from your Majesty's compassion. It would not be right if we let this fear keep us from telling your Majesty what we conscientiously find necessary for the general welfare of the inhabitants of this unhappy place and for the good that may result to your Majesty's service. And so we shall do it the best we can, letting our patriotic zeal take the place of an elegant style and limiting ourselves precisely to the matter that we have mentioned, or to some other of the greatest consequence, as those worthiest to be stated.

In the month of June, 1784, there arrived at this port the convoy by which possession was taken of this province in the name of your Majesty. Among the many English inhabitants who lived here, we found the house of Pantón, Leslie and Company, which, among other mercantile activities, carried on trade with the Indians like any other [p. 3] British subject in the time of the British government. The governor, Don Vicente Manuel de Céspedes, made representations to your Majesty in favor of this house, alleging and multiplying such an infinity of things (as one can easily assert because of the very great frequency of the said representations—we believe there were seventeen of them). They obtained as the reward of so much labor your Majesty's approval of the continuance of the aforesaid house in this province (as a provisional measure) for the purpose of continuing the trade with the Indians and the fur trade, using English goods since these were very well suited to the tastes of the Indians, as the aforesaid representations declared.

Permit us now, your Majesty, to consider how great must have been the interest of that governor, when we see him holding so persistently to his determination to establish this house and making seventeen representations for it, which we think is without a parallel, even though one had to make them in behalf of the father who begot him. [p. 4] Would it have been, perchance, the inseparable zeal of a good subject for the benefit that would result to your Majesty? Would it, perhaps, have been for the welfare and development of the province and of the few subjects who withdrew to this place at that time to experience hardships and whom the fatherly affection of your Majesty has never abandoned? Certainly not. The reason for it was that Leslie¹⁸³ (the only member of the house who lives in this province) was careful to anticipate the governor's gratitude and to keep it alive as the occasion required; for he did not lack the shrewdness to understand how important this was for him, nor did he lack someone to instruct him in the system of our

bierno donde nadie puede hablar como en efecto ha sucedido. La experiencia ha manifestado que la existencia aqui de la mencionada casa, no ha sido para el bien de los dos citados motivos; a saver, el servicio de V. M.; ò el fomento de los vecinos.

Para provar el perjuicio que ha resultado al primero, expon-dremos [pág. 5] á V. M. que para los Yndios, ha sido como sí esta Provincia se hallara aun bajo el Dominio de su Mag^d Britanica. Todos los generos y efectos con que los gratifican son ingleses: Yngleses son todos los que tratan con ellos, y los que existen en los Almacenes que dha Casa tiene en la Provincia; (por que a los demas vecinos se les ha prohibido como despues se expresará) y aunque no ignoran los Yndios que esta referida Provincia pertenece à V. M., estan creyendo que a no ser por los Yngleses no tubieran ropas para vestirse, ni otros efectos necesarios para sus usos. El afecto que es preciso tengan à unos Yndividuos con quien siempre trafican, ya se deja entender; y V. M. considerará, que sí por algun remoto evento como puede suceder, hubiera un rompimiento con la Ynglaterra, no habia que contar con el favor de estos Yndios, en cuyos agasajos V. M. gasta annualm^{te} una cantidad mui considerable; y el Gobierno tiene cuidado de tratarlos con bastante generosidad, [pág. 6] por que asi resulta mas ventajas à quien se los subministra; que es la concequencia del argumento del primer motivo.

Entremos a probar el segundo. Aqui es necesario que V. M. perdone nuestra difucion, pues aunque digamos mucho no será tanto como el asunto exhije: Este es el perjuicio del fomento de los Vecinos. No crea V. M. que nuestro p^{ral} intento sea pretender desarraigat à esta mencionada Casa, ni solicitarle el mas leve perjuicio, por que estamos persuadidos que ella no tiene culpa de nada, y juzgamos que al principio pudo ser mui conveniente su establecimiento aquí. En lo que exforzaremos nuestras razones, será en manifestar à V. M. la faceldad [*sic*], mala fee, injuria, y aun la grande iniquidad, de haber sostenido el Gobierno Con tanto descaro, que el permiso concedido por V. M. a la precitada Casa para continuar en el comercio de los Yndios, era totalm^{te} exclusibo á toda otra persona, [pág. 7] vasallo, ò vecino de cualquiera condicion. Durante el tiempo del ya citado Zespedes, fue esta maxima sostenida con el mayor teson: nadie podia comprar de los Yndios, ni un pellejo, ni un Caballo que alguno necesitaba para su uso; „por

government, in which no one can speak out, as indeed has been the case. Experience has shown that the existence here of the aforesaid house has not been for the good of the two aforesaid motives, namely, the service of your Majesty or the encouragement of the people.

In order to prove the injury that has resulted to the former, we shall declare [p. 5] to your Majesty that, as concerns the Indians, it has been as if this province were still under the dominion of his Britannic Majesty. All the goods and other articles given them as presents are English; English also are those who trade with them and those who live in the stores that the said house has in this province (for all the other inhabitants are excluded from this trade, as will be shown later); and, although the Indians are not unaware that the aforesaid province belongs to your Majesty, they believe that if it were not for the English they would have no clothes to cover them or any other articles necessary for their use. The affection that they have for certain people with whom they always trade is readily understood; and your Majesty will reflect that if, as might happen, some remote event might lead to a break with England, there would be no counting on the favor of these Indians, whose presents annually cost your Majesty a very considerable sum. This government is careful to treat them with great generosity, [p. 6] for greater advantage thus accrues to him who ministers to them. And this is the consequence of the argument about the first motive.

Let us undertake to prove the second. Here it is necessary for your Majesty to pardon our diffuseness, for, although we may say a great deal, it is not as much as the matter requires. This is the injury to the development of the people. Your Majesty must not believe that our principal purpose is to seek to destroy the aforesaid house or to try to do it the least injury, for we are persuaded that it is not at all to blame and we think that at the outset its establishment here could have been very useful. The object of our argument will be to show your Majesty the pliability, bad faith, injury, and even great iniquity of this government in having maintained with such effrontery that your Majesty's permission to the aforesaid house to continue to trade with the Indians was absolutely exclusive of every other person, [p. 7] subject, or inhabitant of whatever condition. During the time of the above-mentioned Céspedes, this maxim was sustained with the greatest obstinacy. No one could buy of the Indians even a skin or a horse that he might

„que este privilegio” (decia él publicam^{te} y en voces imperiosas) „pertenece solo á la Casa de Leslie, quien unicamente puede tratar „y contratar con los Yndios, por que así lo quiere S. M; y el que „de algo necesite ha de ir allá precisamente:” y esto lo podemos justificar con nuestro juramento. Nos es preciso confesar con sinceridad, que nuestra ignorancia ha sido tal, que muchos de nosotros pensaban que sería en aquellos terminos el permiso de V. M; pero otros bien comprendian que era imposible, e impropio de un Soberano, preferir a los Extranjeros, y Concederles mas privilegios que à sus Vasallos y vecinos de esta Plaza; y sin embargo, nadie se atrevió a representarlo à V. M: por que aunque hubiera sido muy Constante, [pág. 8] lexitimo y cierto el citado privilegio exclusibo para comerciar con los Yndios, debia solo ceñirse à este ramo todo su giro, è importar los generos de que solo ellos necesitaban. Pues en verdad, Señor, que no ha sido así. Desde el principio mantubieron y han mantenido Almacén ó Tienda publicam^{te} donde se encontraba toda Clase de generos costosos y finos; quales són terciopelos, razos, murselinas, olanes, encajes, con otra infinidad de ellos, y han vendido a todo el pueblo como son buenos testigos todos quantos los han Comprado, y tenido Con la precitada Casa cuentas de importancia; quando al mismo tiempo se notaban las mas grandes dificultades y restricciones para adquirir los demas vecinos, las ropas necesarias de su uso y familia, viendo entrar Bergantines de Providencia y de Londres con la mayor facilidad para la Casa privilegiada de Panton Leslie, sin contribuir con ningun derecho a V. M: que [pág. 9] segun calculo prudencial, y moderado nos atrevemos á decir que pasarian de treinta mil pesos, y esto sin detenernos à provar si son, ò no Contrabandos; y ademas de todo, ellos han Cargado sin encontrar repugnancia quanto les ha parecido por los generos que entregaban para agasajo de Yndios, contribuyendo todo á defraudar mas y mas vuestra R^l Hacienda. ¿No es esto digno de eterna memoria? ¿No choca esto al juicio menos advertido? ¿Quien podra enumerar las injusticias que padecen los vasallos de V. M. en estos rincones de America por falta de un Protector de los pobres! Pues aun no se ha dicho todo; por que la referida Casa a quien todo le era facil, emprendió despues la subministracion de carnes frescas para la guarnicion y particulares que estuvo primero por Contrata en un Vecino hacendado,

need for his own use, "because this privilege," he said publicly and in imperious terms, "belongs solely to the house of Leslie, which alone can trade and traffic with the Indians, because his Majesty wills it so; and whoever needs anything must necessarily go to that house." This we can prove on oath. We must frankly confess that our ignorance was such that many of us thought that your Majesty's permission might really be in those terms; but others well knew that it was impossible and not the part of a sovereign to give the preference to foreigners and grant them more privileges than his own subjects and people in this town (and yet no one ventured to represent the matter to your Majesty); for although the aforesaid exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians might have been very manifest, [p. 8] legitimate, and certain, its whole operation should have been limited to this branch alone and to the importation of only such goods as the Indians needed. But in truth, Sire, it has not been so. From the very beginning, they maintained, and they have continued to maintain, publicly a store or shop where one finds all kinds of fine and costly goods, such as velvet, satin, muslin, cambric, lace, and numberless other things of this kind; and they have sold to the whole town, as every person will testify abundantly who has made purchases or had an important account with the aforesaid house; although at the same time the other inhabitants are encountering the greatest difficulties and restrictions in obtaining the clothing necessary for themselves and their families, and see brigantines from Providence and London entering with the greatest ease for the privileged house of Panton and Leslie, without paying any duty whatever to your Majesty, [p. 9] though we venture to say that at a prudent and moderate estimate they would exceed thirty thousand pesos; and we do not stop to inquire whether or not the goods are contraband. Besides all this, they have charged whatever they chose for the goods delivered as presents to the Indians, without encountering any opposition whatever. All this adds more and more to the frauds on your royal treasury. Is not this worthy to be remembered forever? Does not this shock even the least expert mind? Who could recount the injustices suffered by your Majesty's subjects in these remote parts of America for want of a protector of the poor! For even yet the whole has not been told; because the aforesaid house, which found everything easy, undertook later the supply of fresh meat for the garrison and certain other persons, although this was first arranged by contract with a landed proprietor who was a native of this country.

y natural de este pais; pero como este ni otro alguno podia adquirir ganados, porque no era permitido sino á Leslie, [pág. 10] tomó este à su cargo dha subministracion (sin preceder entonces Contrata ni otro requisito) con la facilidad y ventajas que le proporcionaba la equidad con que conseguia las reces de los Yndios, a quien tambien sacrifican en el cambio de los generos que les dan. Despues otro Vecino de los antiguos del tiempo Britanico y mui recomendable por su inteligencia y amor a la Provincia, se presentó para hacer Contrata; y aunque ofrecio rebajar el precio de la Carne le fue decretado por aquel citado Gobernador, que aunque la *diera de valde* no se le admitiría como se puede justificar con documento: Con que sin ninguna oposicion, y triunfando altamente los monopodios, han estado muchos años disfrutando de esta ventaja, y permanecen aun subministrando dhas Carnes, à exepcion de algunas mui Cortas temporadas, que por grande favor ó por conveniencia propia de la nominada Casa, ha permitido esta [pág. 11] matar à otros vecinos de aqui; pero aun en esto hay una circunstancia digna de noticiarla á V. M.; y es que tanto el actual Gobernador dⁿ Juan Nepom^o de Quesada, (cuya codicia no tiene limites), y el Ministro de R^l Hacienda (que parece tambien participa de algo) no han permitido que los Conocimientos de lo entregado se hayan jamas hecho en favor de nadie sino de Panton Leslie, que lo denominan Contratista y encargado, quando sabemos hace mas de cuatro años que firmaron Contrata por uno, y nunca se ha buuelto a renobar. El citado Leslie pone despues sus endoses a dhos Conocimientos para pagarse por la R^l Hacienda a los Ynteritados; y asi nunca consta que nadie sino él ha subministrado sin intermision. Qual sea este sistema no lo podemos comprehender, y tal vez será para poder fundar alguna representacion à V. M. (sí es que ya no se ha hecho) que manifieste los meritos de esta Casa, [pág. 12] y ponderar que a no ser por ella, Dios sabe lo que hubiera sido de esta Provincia: pero qualquiera cosa de esta naturaleza no solo será falsa, sino falsisima; pues lejos de haber hecho servicios à V. M, vuestra R^l Hacienda ha contribuido generosamente al suyo, costearo destacamentos considerables que se han mantenido para custodia de sus Almacenes del Rio de San Juan, Embarcaciones, y otros gastos que se han satisfecho, que por no molestar no individualisamos; sacando la consecuencia de nuestro segundo asunto,

Neither he nor anyone else, however, could obtain cattle, a thing that no one but Leslie [p. 10] was permitted to do. The latter undertook to supply them (without entering previously into a contract or any other obligation) with the ease and profits arising from the low price at which he obtained the animals from the Indians, whom he also sacrifices in the exchange of goods that he gives them. Later another of the older inhabitants of the British period, a man who was very praiseworthy for his intelligence and his devotion to the province, offered to make a contract; and, although he offered to supply the meat at a lower price, the aforesaid governor decreed that his offer would not be accepted even if *he supplied it free of charge*. This can be proved by documentary evidence. Consequently, without any opposition and triumphing completely, the monopolists have been enjoying this privilege for many years, and they still continue to supply the said meat, except that for a few brief periods the said house, either as a great favor or for its own convenience, has permitted other people of this place [p. 11] to slaughter cattle. Even in this case, however, there is a circumstance worthy of your Majesty's notice. This is that both the present governor, Don Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada (whose avarice is unbounded), and the official of the treasury (who also seems to have a share in it), have never permitted the vouchers for these supplies to be made in the name of anyone but Pantón and Leslie, who are styled "contractors and agents," though we know that it is more than four years since a contract was signed for one year and that it has never been renewed. The said Leslie then endorses the vouchers aforesaid in order that the interested parties may obtain payment from the royal treasury. And so it appears that no one else than he has ever supplied this meat and that he has done so uninterruptedly. What the design behind this may be, we cannot understand. Perhaps it may be to serve as a basis for some representation to your Majesty (if that has not already been done) which will set forth the merits of this house [p. 12] and maintain that, but for it, God knows what would have become of this province. But anything of this kind will not only be false but utterly false; for, far from having rendered services to your Majesty, this house has received generous contributions from your royal treasury, which has paid for considerable detachments to guard its stores on St. Johns River and its ships, as well as other items that we shall not mention lest we should be wearisome. The result of our second point is that the profit and advantages that it

de que el veneficio y utilidades que se han podido conseguir han resultado plenamente en la expresada Casa, y sin participarlo ningun otro Vecino, con lo que queda provado el segundo perjuicio.

Manifestaremos tambien à V. M. lo ocurrido al principio del citado actual Gobernador, y las esperanzas que teniamos de que se hubieran remediado en parte estos abusos. En efecto como regularm^{te} [pág. 13] sucede que siempre el que viene encuentra defectos en lo obrado anteriormente, empezó à explicarse que todos podian comerciar con los Yndios; pero asi que la politica gratitud de Leslie, experimentada en estos lances, tubo cuidado de alajar la Casa de dho Gobernador, con muebles ingleses de la ultima moda, empezamos à experimentar los favorables efectos que produjeron. Al instante se transformó el arreglado modo de pensar, (por que se incrementaron los monopodios) y quien al principio se insinuaba de modos tan diversos, vino a proferir las mismas ò mas fuertes razones que el otro Gobernador sobre el *privilegio* que ya hemos referido; tomando a su cargo aun mas que aquel, la proteccion de esta Casa, segun lo prueba lo expresado con los *Conocimientos de carnes*, que hace con sutileza condecender á los Ynterezados en ello, y las ofertas que se han hecho proponiendo rebajar el precio de la Carne que [pág. 14] no han sido admitidas. Se agrega á esto una Circunstancia del todo particular que es la de estarse exhigiendo a los Vecinos de esta Plaza, un quince por ciento, sobre los generos y efectos que se importan desde paises Extrangeros, en virtud de R^l Cedula de 9 de Junio del año proximo pasado; y la consavida Casa entra quanto quiere, que para todo dá de sì el privilegio; cuyo exemplar hemos citado en carta dirigida al actual Secretario del Despacho universal de R^l Hacienda de V. M, en que acompañabamos Copia de la representacion que hicimos al Gobierno, sobre la inteligencia de los expresados derechos; y aunque podria ser que nos equiboguemos en pensar que no debemos pagar nada, no nos equibocaremos en pensar que lo mismo debia pagar Leslie, pues se le hacia mucho favor en reputarlo como un Vecino.

Para expresar prolixamente todo quanto con facilidad podiamos poner a la notica de V. M. sería necesario [pág. 15] alargar otro tanto este escrito, y tememos mucho cansar la R^l atencion de V. M.; pero en atencion a lo propuesto no podemos dejar en silencio algunas reflexiones sobre asunto de poblacion. En vano vuestra R^l

has been possible to obtain have accrued entirely to the aforesaid house, and no other inhabitant has shared them. Consequently, the second injury is proved.

We shall likewise show your Majesty what happened at the beginning of the administration of the present governor, and the hopes we had that these abuses might be remedied in part. And indeed, as it usually [p. 13] happens that the new arrival finds defects in the conduct of his predecessor, he began to say that everybody could trade with the Indians;¹⁸⁴ but as soon as the politic gratitude of Leslie (which always finds expression in such situations) took care to adorn the house of the said governor with English furniture in the latest mode, we began to feel the favorable effects that this produced. Immediately the readjusted way of thinking was transformed (for the monopolists had gained ground), and one who had begun by indicating such different views [from his predecessor's] ended up by advancing the same or even stronger arguments than the other governor about the *privilege* which we have already mentioned. He took this house even more completely under his protection than had his predecessor, as is proved by what has been said about the *meat vouchers*, which he has transmitted to the interested persons in a clever way, while the proposals which have been made to reduce the price of meat [p. 14] have not been admitted. Added to this there is another most peculiar circumstance, namely, that the people of this place are required to pay a duty of fifteen per cent on goods and articles imported from foreign countries, by virtue of the royal *cédula* of June 9 of last year,¹⁸⁵ while the aforesaid house brings in whatever it wishes under cover of its "privilege." This matter we mentioned in a letter directed to your Majesty's secretary of the royal treasury, enclosing a copy of a representation that we made to this government on the interpretation of the rule in regard to the said duties; and, although we may be mistaken in thinking that we ought not to pay anything, we are not mistaken in thinking that Leslie ought to pay the same [that we do], since he derived a great deal of advantage from styling himself a resident.

In order to state at length all that we could easily bring to your Majesty's attention, it would be necessary [p. 15] to make this paper twice as long as it is, and we are very much afraid of wearying the royal attention of your Majesty; but, in view of what we have proposed to do, we cannot fail to insert some reflections on the subject of immigration. In vain does your royal clemency provide

piedad facilita medios para este fomento, y ha concedido permiso a los Extrangeros para extablecerse en esta Provincia, por que por nuestra cuenta si alguno se atreverà ya à venir. Los pocos que llegaron al principio se han buelto mui escamados, contando lo que les ha sucedido, que hace mui poco honor á nuestra nacion; y lo peor es, que del concepto que se han formado nunca habrá quien los pueda desimprecionar. Ellos estan criados en unas Leyes y Gobierno que no quitan al mas infelis su derecho; y quando experimentaron el despotico de esta Plaza, no vieron su hora para retirarse; y los pocos que han quedado serà porque tienen motivos para no poder volverse. A unos ponian en el zepo; á otros les cobraban Veinte y cinco por ciento de [pág. 16] derechos sobre los efectos que introdugeron; y á otros les inferian perjuicios y costas, contra lo que V. M. encargò que se les diera buen trato: pero lo que ha echado el resto à todo, ha sido la pricion que se executò en Enero de este año en cinco ó seis Yndividuos habitantes del Rio de Sⁿ Juan de los quales fueron dos a la Havana, y los restantes existen en pricion. Los perjuicios y miserias que sufren sus familias, y ellos mismos, ¿quien los podrá discurrir sin enternecerse? Y tal vez serán inocentes como muchos son de esta opinion. Dios quiera que V. M. remedie esto, dandoles una completa satisfacion si no son culpados!

Por conclusion, Señor, à nuestras molestas narraciones, exponremos à V. M. que quanto dexamos manifestado, estamos prontos á justificar en descargo de nuestras conciencias, con declaraciones juramentadas de todo el Pueblo, y algunos Documentos que estan reservados; pero [pág. 17] como estamos bajo el pié de no poder nadie procurar su derecho sin temer ser atropellado, no se puede por esto acompañar ninguna justificacion; pues aun para no hacer publica esta Ynstancia nos contentamos con que firmen pocos, que de otro modo se podian juntar mas de doscientos, siendo tan publico y notorio esto, que no lo ignora nadie en esta Plaza; Y así lo que suplicamos rendida y respetuosamente à V. M. es que se digne Comicionar à algun sugeto para esta averiguacion, ò que la cometa al Auditor de guerra y teniente de Gobernador que tenemos aquí, de cuyas apreciables circunstancias tenemos hecho el mas justo concepto; ya por su desinteres, deseo grandisimo de cortar pleytos y questiones; y ya por que la poca union conque desde pocos dias despues de su arribo, conserbo con el Gobierno, dan pruebas

the means for increasing it, and in vain has it granted permission to foreigners to settle in this province, for, as we see it, it is doubtful whether anyone will dare to come here now. The few who came here at the outset have withdrawn sadder but wiser and have told what happened to them, which reflects very little credit on our nation; and the worst of it is that no one will ever be able to remove the impression that they have formed. They are bred under a government and laws that never deprive even the most unfortunate of his rights, and when they experienced the despotism of this place, they waited not a moment to withdraw. The few who remained did so because there were reasons why they could not leave. Some were put in the stocks; some were charged a twenty-five per cent [p. 16] duty on the goods they brought with them; and on some were inflicted injuries and costs, contrary to your Majesty's command that they should be treated well. But what drove the rest of them out was the imprisonment, in January of this year, of five or six inhabitants on St. Johns River, two of whom were sent to Havana and the others are still in jail. Who can think of the losses and misery that they and their families are suffering, without being moved to pity? And perhaps they are innocent, as many people think. God grant that your Majesty may remedy this and make them full amends if they are not guilty.

In concluding, Sire, our tiresome narrative, we declare to your Majesty that, as we have stated, we are ready to prove whatever statements we have made with a clear conscience by sworn declarations by the whole town and by some documents that are confidential; but, [p. 17] since we are in such a situation that nobody can try to get his rights without danger of being trampled under foot, it is consequently impossible to enclose any documentary proof. Lest this petition should become public, we are content to have only a few people sign it, though it would have been easy, under other circumstances, to obtain more than two hundred signatures, for the facts stated in it are so public and notorious that nobody in this place is ignorant of them. And so what we submissively and respectfully beg of your Majesty is that you will be pleased to commission some person to verify them, or that you will entrust this task to the auditor of war and lieutenant governor of this province,¹⁸⁶ of whose estimable qualities we have formed the highest opinion, both for his impartiality and his very great desire to terminate lawsuits and controversies, and for the lack of harmony between him and the government since the first few days after his

nada equibocas de ser mui amante de la Justicia. Ynformado V. M. de todo, podrá mandar que para lo [pág. 18] sucesibo disfrutemos los Vecinos de esta Plaza de las gracias que nos corresponden; sacando á todos del errado concepto de que V. M. ha concedido privilegios exclusibos a la Casa de los memorados Panton Leslie, pues ellos no son vecinos y crehemos que nunca lo podrán ser, por que se hallan los compañeros divididos en diferentes partes: Que se nos permita tratar con los Yndios, y se nos concedan las franquicias que V. M. tenga á bien; pues tenemos en Barcelona, y otras partes de nuestra Peninsula generos mui à proposito para ello; lo qual puede mui bien ponerse en execucion por algun Vecino luego que Dios quiera se finalizen las actuales hostilidades: Y se dara a conocer á los Yndios que tambien los Españoles tienen fabricas mui buenas, de generos, y les será de gran satisfaccion encontrarlos con mas equidad; y aun Vuestra Magestad, los podrá conseguir à mui distinto precio del que [pág. 19] ahora le cuestan. Todo lo qual hacemos respetuosamente manifesto à V. M. para que se digne su Real resolucion determinar lo que conviniere. San Agustin de la Florida 27. de Noviem^{re} de 1794.

Señor.

A vuestros Reales Pies.

FRAN^{co} XAVIER SANCHEZ.

Por Dⁿ MATHEO GUADARRAMA,

RAFAEL SAAVEDRA ESPINOSA.

F^{co} P^{pe} FATIO.

Por Dⁿ MANUEL SOLANO que no sabe escribir,

FRAN^{co} XAVIER SANCHEZ.

JUAN RODRIGUEZ.

AUGUSTIN BUYCK.

FRAN^{co} XAVIER MIRANDA.

ANTONIO PALMAS.

MARGARET FREAN.

ANTONIO PELISER.

[Pág. 20] LORENZO LLANES.

ANTONIO HUERTA.

DIMAS CORTES.

[*Rubricados*]

arrival, which gives unequivocal proof that he is a great lover of justice. Your Majesty, informed of everything, can order that in the [p. 18] future we the inhabitants of this place shall enjoy the privileges to which we are entitled, disabusing everyone of the erroneous idea that your Majesty has granted exclusive privileges to the house of the aforesaid Panton and Leslie, for they are not residents and we believe that they never can be, since the partners are divided into different groups. [Your Majesty can also order] that we be permitted to trade with the Indians and be granted such exemptions as your Majesty may see fit; for, in Barcelona and elsewhere in our peninsula, we have very suitable goods for this trade. This can easily be carried into effect by some resident as soon as it pleases God to put an end to the present hostilities. The Indians will thus be shown that the Spaniards too have very good factories for making goods, and they will be highly gratified to obtain these goods at a more moderate price; and even your Majesty might be able to get them at very different prices from those that [p. 19] now prevail. All of which we respectfully declare to your Majesty in order that your royal decision may be pleased to determine what is expedient. St. Augustine, Florida, November 27, 1794.

Sire,

At your royal feet,

FRANCISCO XAVIER SÁNCHEZ.

For DON MATHEO GUADARRAMA,

RAFAEL SAAVEDRA ESPINOSA.

FRANCISCO PHELIPE FATIO.

For DON MANUEL SOLANO, who can not write,

FRANCISCO XAVIER SÁNCHEZ.

JUAN RODRÍGUEZ.

AUGUSTIN BUYCK.

FRANCISCO XAVIER MIRANDA.

ANTONIO PALMAS.

MARGARET FREAN.

ANTONIO PELISER.

[P. 20] LORENZO LLANES.

ANTONIO HUERTA.

DIMAS CORTÉS.

[*Rubrics*]

XXV. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDENTE INTERINO
DE LA LUISIANA Y LA FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL, A
DANIEL CLARK, EL JOVEN, VICE CONSUL INTERINO
DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS, SOBRE EL COMERCIO DE
LAS NACIONES NEUTRALES EN NUEVA ORLEANS.

Nueva Orleans, 13 de Junio de 1798

Oficio dirigido al
Vice Consul de los
Estados Vnidos en
resp^{ta} al suyo de
1º de Mayo inserto
en la Acta del
Comercio de 26 de
Mayo de 1798.

Muy Señor mio: Ha sido aun mas extensa, que lo que Vm manifestó desear en su Carta de 1º de Mayo ant^{or} la resolucion que a su consecuencia, la de lo expuesto por el Cuerpo del Comercio de esta Capital, y lo manifestado por el Señor Gob^{or} General de la Provincia, se ha tomado en Junta de Real Hacienda. Hechos cargo los Sñs Vocales del estado actual de las cosas, y de la necesidad de proporcionar a la Colonia medios de que sus habitantes puedan subsistir y dar salida a sus frutos, el acuerdo de la celebrada en 11 del corr^{te} con q^e Yo me conforme y hé mandado cumplir fue el Siguiente.

„Que por ahora, y mientras dure la Gñra, o que S M. otra cosa „resuelva se permita la entrada en este Rio y admitan á Comercio en „esta Capital a todos los Barcos de naciones neutrales pagando 6 „p% sobre el valor de los efectos que introduzcan, e igual dño. por „el de las producciones que extraigan, debiendo a su arribo a la „Valiza entregar al Cabo de Rentas el manifiesto por mayor de la „Carga, y en la Yntendencia p^a obtener el permiso de descargar, las „facturas circunstanciadas en los terminos que ahora se practica, „poniendo en ello el mayor cuidado para evitar la pena de Comiso a „las mercaderias que se encuentren sin haberse declarado, ó el pagar „el dño de las declaradas, y que no se hallen”

Pero aunque el Acuerdo comprehenda a que todas las naciones neutras, creo no se ocultará, a la penetracion de Vñ q^e siendo los Americanos los que por su Situacion, y por la circunstancia de tener libre la navegacion del Misisipi pueden hacer el Comercio en esta Capital sin los peligros en q^e han constituido a las demas Naciones los vltimos decretos de la Francia y la Ynglaterra, puede considerarse que a ellos solos se les ha concedido la gracia y libertad de Comerciar en esta Capital, y por consecuencia que se han concedido sin restriccion los dos puntos q^e Vñd [fol. 128v] pro-

XXV. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDANT *AD INTERIM* OF LOUISIANA AND WEST FLORIDA, TO DANIEL CLARK, JR., ACTING VICE CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES, RELATIVE TO THE COMMERCE OF NEUTRAL NATIONS IN NEW ORLEANS.¹⁸⁷

New Orleans, June 13, 1798

Dear Sir:

Even more far-reaching than you indicated you wished it to be in your letter of May 1¹⁸⁹ last is the decision made by the *Junta de Real Hacienda*¹⁹⁰ in consequence of your letter, the representations made by the chamber of commerce of this city, and the statement of the governor general of this province.¹⁹¹ The members, informed of the present state of affairs and of the necessity of providing the inhabitants of the colony with the means of subsistence and of marketing their products, adopted in a session of the 11th of this month the following resolution, which I agreed to and ordered to be executed:

“That temporarily and for the duration of the war, or until his Majesty should decide otherwise, all ships of neutral nations shall be permitted to enter this river and trade at this capital on the payment of six per cent on the value of the articles which they import and the same amount on the products which they export; and that on its arrival at the Balize each ship shall deliver to the *cabo de rentas*¹⁹² a detailed manifest of its cargo, and shall deliver to the intendancy, in order to obtain permission to unload, detailed invoices in the form now in use, and that in unloading the greatest care shall be used to avoid the penalty of confiscation of goods found not to have been declared or which, having paid the duty, are not discovered.”

Although the resolution includes all neutral nations, I believe it will not be hidden from your penetration that, since the Americans are the people who by virtue of their geographical location and of their right to the free navigation of the Mississippi River are able to trade with this city without running the risks imposed on all other nations by the recent decrees of France and England, we may regard them as the only ones to whom the privilege and liberty of trading with this city has been granted. Consequently, we may regard as having been granted without restriction the two points¹⁹³

Note addressed to the vice consul of the United States¹⁸⁸ in reply to his of May 1, which is inserted in the minutes of the chamber of commerce of May 26, 1798.

puso en su citada Carta: Sin que sirva de reparo no haberse hecho expresa declaracion del segundo respecto a que teniendo estos habitantes la facultad de hacer sus expediciones bajo la Bandera Neutral que les acomode, mientras dure la gñra. no se presentará caso de que los Buques del Pais, naveguen con Pavellon Español a los Puertos neutros

Me ha sido de mucha satisfaccion poder dar a Vñ esta respuesta, y no me produce menos gusto noticiarle, que en favor del Comercio de los Puertos Situados mas allá de los 31 grados N. se tomó en la misma Junta, me conforme y he mandado observar la siguiente providencia.

„Que nada se exija por ahora y mientras S. M. otra cosa no „determina a los efectos que se extraigan p^a los Establecimientos „Americanos, situados mas alla de los 31 grados al N. del Equador, „debiendo cancelarse las fianzas de los que han salido desde el 21 „del pasado, y continuar este Comercio interior con la misma franquicia q^e antes de la evacuacion de las Puestos, ya sean las expediciones formadas por Vasallos y en Barcos Españoles, ya por „Ciudadanos de los Estados Vnidos en Buques de su pertenencia: „exceptuandose sin embargo de esta libertad el oro y plata acuñada, „o en pasta que por ningun motivo debe extraerse p^a los Establecimientos Americanos, so pena de confiscacion, y demas prevenidas, y debiendose dar al resguardo las mas estrechas Ordenes para „que zele no se cometan fraudes”

Pues demostrandose con Este proceder la disposicion de los Ministros en quienes el Rey mi Amo tiene depositada su confianza en esta Prov^a a propender al Bien de los Ciudadanos Americanos me lisongeo que de parte de los Agentes del poder de los Estados Vnidos, se procedera con la misma generosidad en favor de los Vasallos Españoles en los casos y cosas en que tengan necesidad de su proteccion y Valimiento

Dios Gñe a Vñd muchos años. Nueva Orleans 13 de Junio de 1798.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[*Dirección:*] Señor D. Daniel Clark el Joven Vice Consul interino de los Estados Vnidos

[fol. 128 v] proposed in your letter mentioned above; without the fact that your second point was not noticed expressly making any difference, since the inhabitants of this colony are permitted to make shipments under whatever neutral flag they please during the continuance of the war. Consequently no case will arise of a ship of this country sailing under the Spanish flag to a neutral port.

I am highly gratified to be able to give you this reply, and it is no less a source of pleasure to me to inform you that in the same session of the Junta the following measure was adopted in favor of the commerce of the ports situated above the thirty-first parallel,¹⁹⁴ and that I agreed to it and ordered it to be executed:

“That for the present and until his Majesty decides otherwise, no duties shall be collected on articles exported to the American settlements situated above the thirty-first parallel of North latitude. The bonds for goods exported since the 21st of last month¹⁹⁵ shall be cancelled and this internal commerce shall continue with the same privileges as before the evacuation of the posts, whether the shipments are made by Spanish subjects in Spanish ships or by citizens of the United States in their own ships. This privilege however shall not extend to gold and silver coin and bullion, which shall not be exported to the American settlements on any pretext, under pain of confiscation and the other prescribed penalties;¹⁹⁶ and the customs officials shall be given the strictest orders to prevent the commission of frauds.”

And now, having shown by this action the disposition of the officers in whom my master, the king, has placed his confidence in this province to consider the welfare of American citizens, I flatter myself that the agents of the power of the United States on their part will proceed with the same generosity in favor of the subjects of Spain whenever they may need their protection and support.

May God protect you many years. New Orleans, June 13, 1798.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[*Addressed:*] Señor Don Daniel Clark, Jr., acting vice consul of the United States.

XXVI. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDENTE INTERINO DE LA LUISIANA Y LA FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL, AL MINISTRO MIGUEL CAYETANO SOLER SOBRE LA EXPORTACIÓN DE LA PLATA.

Nueva Orleans, 31 de Mayo de 1802

Exmo. Señor

Nº 95. El 8 de Enero anterior, puso en mis manos D. Josef Tricou, vecino y del Comercio de esta Ciudad, y Präl interesado en el asunto del Comiso del Bergantin el Arca de Noe, el Triplicado de la Carta de V.E. de 10 de Abril de 1800. que abraza el contenido de la R^l Orden de 2 de Abril de 1797. . . .

En virtud, pues del contenido de la citada Real determinaz^{on} mandé Chancelar las fianzas hipotecarias q^e tenian ministradas los referidos interesados, y seguidamente, no existiendo las cosas en el estado que se hallaban quando el Yntendente D. Fran^{co} Rendon y el Gobernador Baron de Carondelet hicieron sus fundadas y discretas observaciones sobre los perjuicios de la nueva forma y extension dada al Comercio libre de esta Provincia, Especialmente en el aumento de dñs. de generos de importacion, y exportacion con la prohibicion de extraer la plata para él; pues con el asombroso incremento que desde aquella epoca han tenido los cultivos del Azucar y el Algodon, casi está balanceada la importacion q^e necesita la Provincia, noticie a la Administracion General de Rentas la resolucion del Rey previniendole se atubiese a ella en los casos en q^e la Yntendencia, por existir motivo urgente y justificado, considerase preciso prestar su consentimiento A que se Embarcara el dinero q^e graduase necesario p^a los fines que movieron el Real Animo a tan particular gracia, la qual Sin esta condicion que exigia la favorable Variacion que habia experimentado en Sus cultivos la Colonia, podria producir abusos que resultasen en perjuicio de ella y del Estado; . . .

Nueva Orleans 31 de Mayo de 1802

Exmo Señor.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[Rubricado]

[Dirección:] Ex^{mo} Sor. Dⁿ Mig^l Cayetano Soler.

XXVI. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDANT *AD INTERIM* OF LOUISIANA AND WEST FLORIDA, TO MINISTER MIGUEL CAYETANO SOLER, RELATIVE TO THE EXPORTATION OF SPECIE.¹⁹⁷

New Orleans, May 31, 1802

Most Excellent Sir

On January 8 last Don José Tricou, an inhabitant and merchant of this city and the person principally interested in the affair of the confiscation of the brigantine *Noah's Ark*, placed in my hands the triplicate of your Excellency's letter of April 10, 1800, which repeats the contents of the Royal Order of April 2, 1797. . . .¹⁹⁸

No. 95.

In view, therefore, of the contents of the said royal decision, I ordered the cancellation of the bonds made by the above mentioned interested parties. Then, since the state of affairs is not the same as it was when the intendant, Don Francisco Rendón, and Governor Baron de Carondelet made their well grounded and prudent observations relative to the injury suffered from the new form and amplification given to the free commerce of this province, especially by the increase of import and export duties and the prohibition of the exportation of specie, for because of the amazing increase since that time in the cultivation of sugar and cotton, the imports required by this province have almost been balanced: I accordingly informed the *Administración General de Rentas*¹⁹⁹ of the king's decision and directed that it should be observed in cases in which the intendency should, for an urgent and established reason, consider it necessary to give its consent to the exportation of specie in the amount that it deemed essential for the purposes for which the royal will granted so special a favor; for, without this restriction, which was required by the favorable change that had taken place in the [sugar and cotton] crops of the colony, the favor might cause abuses that would injure both the colony and the state; . . .

New Orleans, May 31, 1802.

Most Excellent Sir,

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Don Miguel Cayetano Soler.

XXVII. CARTA DEL GOBERNADOR DE LA FLORIDA ORIENTAL, DON ENRIQUE WHITE, A DON DIEGO MORPHY, CONSUL DE S.M.C. EN CHARLESTON, SOBRE EL COMERCIO CON LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS.

San Agustín de la Florida, 22 de Junio de 1804

En contextacion al oficio de Vñd. de 28. de Mayo ultimo devo decirle que la prevencion que hace a Vñd. el Consul general de que los consules no pueden autorizar á ningun extranjero á pasar á ntñas. Colonias, me persuado ha de entenderse por lo que respecta á la Ysla de Cuba Puerto Rico, y demas dominios de S. M. en America, y no en quanto á esta Provincia pues estando mandado por reales ordenes se admita á todo extranjero que quiera domiciliarse en ella, parece natural traigan pasaportes de los Consules todos los que vengán con el indicado objeto, consiguiendose por este medio el que no se introduzcan aqui sugetos perjudiciales á la tranquilidad publica, porque los Consules antes de expedirles dhos. docum^s deben imponerse del caracter y verdadero fin que los conduce á este Pais.

Asi mismo hallo por conducente el que los Consules expidan pasaportes á los Ciudadanos de los Estados Unidos que justifiquen tener Cuentas pendientes con estos havitantes, o que conduzcan efectos Comerciables, verificandolo en Buques nacionales, porque les está permitida su entrada en la Provincia con arreglo á la real oñn. de 9. de Junio de 1793 y la Junta general de Hacienda celebrada aqui en Septiembre de 1802.

Sin embargo de quanto manifesto a Vmd. como depende inmediatamente del Consul general, es mi opinion deve Vmd. recurrir á el para que declare si su prevencion se extiende á esta Provincia, remitiendole Vñd. copia de este oficio, si lo tuviere por conveniente, a fin de que su resolucion sea con conocimiento de lo que S. M. tiene determinado con respecto á esta Provincia.

Dios guarde a Vmd. muchos años. San Agustín de la Florida 22 de Junio de 1.804

[*Sin firma*]

[*Dirección:*] Señor Dn. Diego Morphy

XXVII. LETTER OF THE GOVERNOR OF EAST FLORIDA,
ENRIQUE WHITE, TO DIEGO MORPHY, HIS CATHOLIC
MAJESTY'S CONSUL IN CHARLESTON, RELATIVE TO
COMMERCE WITH THE UNITED STATES.²⁰⁰

St. Augustine, Florida, June 22, 1804

In reply to your despatch of May 28,²⁰¹ I must tell you that the warning given you by the consul general to the effect that consuls can not authorize any foreigner to go to our colonies, must, I am persuaded, be understood to apply to the Island of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other dominions of his Majesty in America, and not to this province, since it is directed by royal orders that any foreigner who wishes to settle in it shall be admitted, and it would seem natural that all who come with that purpose should bring passports from the consuls, thus obtaining the exclusion of persons dangerous to the public peace; for the consuls, before issuing the said documents, should inform themselves of the character and true object which brings them to this country.

I also consider it advisable that the consuls issue passports to citizens of the United States who prove that they have accounts pending with these inhabitants, or who bring salable commodities in national [*i.e.*, Spanish] ships, for their entrance into the province is permitted in conformity with the royal order of June 9, 1793, and with the decision of the *Junta general de Hacienda* held here in September, 1802.²⁰²

Notwithstanding what I have said to you, since you are immediately subordinate to the consul general, it is my opinion that you should consult him, in order that he may state whether his warning extends to this province. You may send him a copy of this letter, if you think it advisable, in order that his decision may be taken with knowledge of what his Majesty has determined with regard to this province.

May God preserve you many years. St. Augustine, Florida, June 22, 1804.

[*Unsigned*]

[*Addressed:*] Señor Don Diego Morphy.

XXVIII. VICENTE FOLCH Y JUAN, COMANDANTE DE
PANZACOLA, AL MARQUÉS DE SOMERUELOS DAN-
DOLE CUENTA DE UNA CONCESIÓN DADA A LA CASA
DE PANTON, LESLIE Y COMPAÑIA.

Panzacola, 10 de Diciembre de 1804

Nº 176. [Pág. 1] S^{or} Presidente Gobernador y Capⁿ G^{ral} = Uno de los puntos mas necesarios á que conviene atender para el arreglo de la Provincia, es el comercio de que debe disfrutar en lo sucesivo. Para que esta pudiese restablecerse de los atrasos que ha experimentado y está experimentando por el retardo de los Situados de algunos años á esta parte, seria muy útil disfrutase (si S.M. lo halla por conveniente) de un comercio libre por el termino de 10 años, ó por el q S.M. tubiese á bien; gracia que redimiria á esta Provincia de la necesidad de tener que recurrir para Su consumo á los generos de la Luisiana, apesar de estar tan sobrecargados de dñs = Produciria tambien este beneficio, la utilidad de que mucha parte de las cosechas de la Luisiana, y en particular todas las de los rios Tombembéc y Alibamon vinieron á la Florida; pues siendo las importaciones y exportaciones libres de dñs, sacarian los habitantes mejor producto de ellas. Con el comercio libre se poblaria rapidamente la Provincia, con Pobladores, [pág. 2] Europeos, que son los mejores para contrarestar en todo tiempo el impetu Americano, declarado contrario al dominio que S.M. tiene sobre las Floridas = Una de las providencias que he tomado para poner á esta Provincia al abrigo de las miserias que debe temer de la total falta de Situados, ha sido permitir á la Casa de Panton Leslie y Compañia, la introduccion de toda especie de generos y frutos Europeos; y la extraccion de las producciones del pais q reciba en cambio, hasta que S. M. se sirva determinar lo que fuere de Su R^l agrado sobre el comercio de la Provincia en lo sucesivo. Con esta determinacion queda remediada la necesidad que estos habitantes hubieran experimentado, si se hubiesen visto reducidos á proveerse de lo necesario en la Luisiana, donde no se vende sino al contado, quando se carece enteramente de numerario para verificar pagos por cortos que sean = Me ha representado la expresada Casa, que en atencion á tener que hacer la mayor parte de sus ventas al fiado, se hacia preciso, que todas sus introducciones y extracciones sean libres de dñs., en [pág. 3] los mismos terminos q lo son los generos que importa y ex-

XXVIII. VICENTE FOLCH Y JUAN, COMMANDANT OF
PENSACOLA, TO THE MARQUÉS DE SOMERUELOS, RE-
PORTING A CONCESSION TO PANTON, LESLIE AND
COMPANY.²⁰³

Pensacola, December 10, 1804

[P. 1] Señor President, Governor, and Captain General: One of the most pressing questions that should be attended to in settling the affairs of this province is the commerce that it is to enjoy in the future. In order that it may recover from the losses that it has suffered and is still suffering from the delay of the subsidies²⁰⁴ of the last few years, it would be very advantageous for it to enjoy (if his Majesty thinks fit) free commerce for a period of ten years, or for so long a period as his Majesty pleases. This favor would relieve this province of the necessity of having to obtain its supplies of goods from Luisiana, [as is now the case] despite the excessive duties imposed on them. The same benefit would be obtained because a large part of the crops of Louisiana, especially those from the Tombigbee and Alabama rivers, would come to Florida; for, if imports and exports were duty-free, the inhabitants would make a larger profit from them. With free commerce the province would soon be settled with European [p. 2] immigrants, who are the best to arrest forever the American advance, which is openly hostile to his Majesty's dominion over the Floridas. One of the measures which I have taken in order to protect this province from the penury that is to be feared because of the total lack of subsidies, has been to permit the house of Panton, Leslie and Company to import all kinds of European goods and commodities, and to export the products of the country which it receives in exchange,²⁰⁵ until his Majesty shall be pleased to indicate his royal pleasure in regard to the commerce of the province in the future. By this decision the inhabitants have been rescued from the want that they would have suffered had they been compelled to supply their needs from Louisiana. Sales there are made for cash only, and this province has absolutely no money to make payments, no matter how small. The said house has represented to me that, since most of its sales have to be made on credit, all its imports and exports must be freed from duties as [p. 3] are already the goods that it imports

No. 176.

porta para el comercio de los Yndios; y considerando ser este un punto que debe remitirse á la decision de la Suprema autoridad, se lo he manifestado, ofreciendole q recomendaria á VS, como lo hago, hallar justa su solicitud; esperando se servirá VS. elevarla favorablemente recomendada á S.M. para su Real aprobacion. Dios gñe á VS, m^s a^s Panzacola 10 de Diciembre de 1804.

VICENTE FOLCH.

[*Dirección:*] Sñr Marques de Someruelos.

[*Endosado:*] Someruelos.

[*Rubricado*]

XXIX. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDENTE INTERINO DE LA FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL, AL MINISTRO MIGUEL CAYETANO SOLER, DANDOLE CUENTA DE LAS NUEVAS PROVIDENCIAS CON RESPETO AL COMERCIO DE LA FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL.

Panzacola, 31 de Marzo de 1806

Nº 402.

El Yntendente interino de la Florida Occidental, despues de un pequeño preambulo, relaciona el estado en que se encontró el punto de Comercio maritimo de aquella Provincia; y da cuenta de las providencias que ha dado para restablecer el orden, consistiendo en haber permitido el Comercio de Neutrales interin S.M. otra cosa determina y el de importacion de la Nueva Orleans libre de derechos mientras el primero tiene prin-

[Pág. 1]

Exñno. Señor.

Segun ya indiqué á V.E. en mi carta de 28 del pasado Nº 398, nada es tan difícil como el restablecimiento del orden á la vista del que lo ha perturbado. Teniendo mando, nunca faltan partidarios de sus maximas que procuran sostenerlas con reflexiones y comparaciones que resultan en perjuicio del que juzga de su obligacion volver las cosas al pie de que no deberian haberse sacado: sucediendo con mayor motivo quando las consecuencias son que el Herario perciba lo que le corresponde; pues los epitectos de ridulo [*sic*: ridículo], inconsiderado, y aun tirano no se economizan, y á la sombra del cotejo de la libertad, con la sugesion, se propalan otras especies no menos desagradables á aquel contra quien se dirigen, que perju [pág. 2] diciales á los objetos del servicio q^e necesitaban de remedio.

Se hallaba en este caso el punto de Comercio maritimo de esta Provincia. Sus Puertos no podian considerarse tales. Ninguna formalidad se observaba en ellos por parte de la R^l Hacienda. Los

and exports in its trade with the Indians. Thinking this a point that should be submitted to the decision of the highest authority, I have so informed the house, offering to recommend, as I do, that your Lordship regard their request as just, and hoping that your Lordship will be pleased to transmit it with a favorable recommendation to his Majesty for his royal approval. May God preserve your Lordship many years. Pensacola, December 10, 1804.

VICENTE FOLCH.

[*Addressed:*] Marqués de Someruelos.

[*Indorsed:*] Someruelos.

[*Rubric*]

XXIX. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDANT *AD INTERIM* OF WEST FLORIDA, TO MINISTER MIGUEL CAYETANO SOLER, REPORTING THE NEW PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE COMMERCE OF WEST FLORIDA.²⁰⁶

Pensacola, March 31, 1806

[P. 1]

Most Excellent Sir:

As I have already told your Excellency in my letter No. 398 of the 28th of last month, nothing is so difficult as to restore order in the presence of the person who has disturbed it.²⁰⁷ If he is in command, there will never be wanting supporters of his principles who will try to sustain them with reflections and comparisons which injure the person who thinks it his duty to restore things to the condition from which they should never have been moved. The motive for this is all the more powerful when as a result the treasury receives what is due it. For the epithets "ridiculous," "precipitate" and even "tyrannical" are not spared, and under the pretence of comparing liberty with subjection other statements are published that are no less disagreeable to the person against whom they are directed than they are preju[p. 2]dicial to the interests of the service that required a remedy.

In such a situation was the maritime commerce of this province. Its ports could not be considered ports, for no formality on the part of the royal treasury was observed in them. Foreign ships entered

No. 402.

The intendant *ad interim* of West Florida, after a short preamble, describes the condition in which he found the maritime commerce of that province; and reports the measures which he has taken to restore order. These consist in having permitted neutral trade until his Majesty decides otherwise, as well as importations from New Orleans free from duties while neutral trade

cipio, y se fomenta:
 ambas cosas por
 los motivos que
 explana, mediante
 los quales se pro-
 mete la aprobacion
 del Rey.

Barcos extranjeros entraban en ellos sin que los Ministros Reales tubiesen conocimiento del motivo por que se les permitia, de lo que importaban; de lo que salia. En una palabra nada de lo que se practica en todo Pais civilizado, se hacia, emanando este desorden de las providencias dada por el Comandante Dⁿ Vicente Folch en el tiempo en que considerandose Gefe de todos los ramos suspendio el cumplimiento de las R^s ordenes, y de las expedidas por mi luego que tubo efecto la retrocesion de la Luisiana.

A mi paso por la Movila me cercioré de que las cosas se hallaban en este estado y en su virtud pareciendome no debia ocasionar variacion de entidad hasta aclarar el asunto con el que habia introducido las novedades, me reduge á hacer al Comandante Subdelegado, y al Guarda [pág. 3] Almacen las prevenciones que deducirá V.E. de la adjunta copia N^o 1^o.

Luego que llegue á esta Plaza puse en exercicio el segundo Cabo de Rentas Josef Garcia Capetillo, y uno de los dos Guardas que servian de Ordenanzas de las Oficinas en la Nueva Orleans y previne que nada se desembarcase sin haber obtenido antes el permiso.

Con este motivo, luego que llego el primer barquillo procedente de la Luisiana, se vió obligado su Patron á presentar instancia solicitando la licencia de desembarcar los articulos de que se componia su cargam^{to}.

Pedi en su virtud informe al Ministro de Real Hacienda en quien, por no haberse establecido en esta Plaza la Aduana que previno la R^l Cedula de 18 [*sic*: 22] de Enero de 1782 estan refundidas las facultades de Administrador; y lo evacuo del modo que manifiesta la adjunta copia N^o 2.

Teniendo ya este nuevo antecedente juzgué de mi deber hacer al Comandante Dⁿ Vicente Folch dos preguntas. 1^o Si procedia de R^l oñn. la suspension de la que Yo habia comunicado en 1^o de Diciembre de 1803 sobre los derechos que debian contribuir los Barcos [pág. 4] Españoles que conduxesen frutos y producciones de la Provincia de la Luisiana: y 2^{da} en que se fundaba la admision de los Barcos Americanos en los Puertos de la Florida Occidental: y asi lo efectué por medio del oficio del que es copia la que acompaña con el N^o 3.

Satisfizo á el Dⁿ Vicente Folch en los terminos que manifiesta el documento N^o 4 y aunque su conclusion fue que por tener dado cuenta de todo á S.M. proponiendo ademas el Comercio que por su

them without the royal officials inquiring into the reason for admitting them or into the cargoes that they brought or took off. In a word, none of the practices common in every civilized country was observed. This disorder arose from the measures taken by the commandant, Don Vicente Folch, at a time when, considering himself chief of every department, he suspended compliance with the royal orders and with those that I issued when the retrocession of Louisiana occurred.

On my way by Mobile, I learned that affairs were in this situation and accordingly, since it seemed to me that I should not make any important change until I had cleared up the matter with the person responsible for the innovations, I confined myself to giving the *comandante subdelegado*²⁰⁸ and the *guarda* [p. 3] *almacen*²⁰⁹ the warnings which your Excellency will observe in the enclosed copy No. 1.²¹⁰

As soon as I arrived at this town I placed in active service the second *cabo de rentas*, José García Capetillo, and one of the two *guardas* who served as porters in the government offices at New Orleans, and gave orders that nothing should be unloaded without previous permission.

Consequently, when the first cock-boat from Louisiana arrived, its master found himself obliged to present a petition requesting permission to unload the articles which made up its cargo.

In view of this petition I called for a report from the official of the royal treasury in whom, because of the failure to establish at this place the customs service provided for by the royal *cédula* of January 18 [*sic*: 22] 1782, are vested the powers of *Administrador*. He replied in the manner shown by the enclosed copy No. 2.

Having now this new antecedent, I thought it my duty to ask the commandant, Don Vicente Folch, two questions: 1st, whether the suspension of the order which I had issued on December 1, 1803, in regard to the duties to be paid by Spanish [p. 4] ships bringing commodities and products from the province of Louisiana was due to a royal order; and 2nd, what justification there was for the admission of American ships to the ports of West Florida. This I did by means of a despatch of which enclosure No. 3 is a copy.

Don Vicente Folch replied in the terms shown by document No. 4. Although he concluded that he had reported everything to his Majesty and had moreover proposed commercial regulations that might

begins and develops; both measures for the reasons which he assigns and which he promises himself will obtain the approval of the king.

situacion local y politica podia permitirse á esta Provincia, no me creia en responsabilidad alguna por permitir la continuacion de sus providencias hasta que el Rey se dignará manifestar su R^l voluntad en vista de las representaciones que la habia dirigido; juzgando de otro modo, me parecio que debia poner en el particular el arreglo que por su naturaleza piden estos particulares.

Para combinarlo mejor crei tambien prudente tratar el asunto en Junta de R^l Hacienda; y habiendola convocado el 10 de este mes, y hecho en ella relacion de todas las circunstancias que podrian con- [pág. 5]tribuir á que los Vocales pudiesen fundar su opinion con pleno conocimiento del estado de las cosas segun reconocerá V.E. de la copia N^o 5. del acuerdo; despues de haber conferenciado difusamente unanimemente votaron: Que desde dicho dia en adelante, por el tiempo que durase la Guerra con la Gran Bretaña, ó mientras el Rey otra cosa determinara, se permitiese en esta Plaza el Comercio de Neutros baxo las mismas reglas, contribucion y condiciones que se tolero en la G^{ra}. anterior y fixó la Junta de Real Hacienda celebrada en la Plaza de la Nueva Orleans en 12 de Junio de 1798. las quales se reducian á que se pagase el 6 p% sobre el valor de los efectos que se importaran, é igual contribucion por el de las producciones que se extrageran, debiendo á su arrivo á Barrancas entregar al Dependiente ó persona autorizada para recibirlo el manifesto por mayor de la carga, y en la Yntendencia p^a obtener el permiso de descargar facturas circunstanciadas, detalladas, y juradas, poniendo en ello el mayor cuidado para evitar la pena de Comiso á las mercaderias [pág. 6] que se encuentren sin haberse declarado ó pagar derecho de las declaradas, y que no se hallen: Que á mas de los frutos de la Provincia, podria la Yntendencia acceder [sic] á la extraccion de dinero baxo las reglas y condiciones prescriptas en la R^l orden de 2 de Abril de 1797. que por haberse extraviado en el tiempo en que se dirigió, se repitió en otra de 10 de Abril de 1800 y por ultimo que en el interin que dicho Comercio de Neutros tenia principio y se fomentaba, continuase en este puerto y el de la Movila el de importacion de la Nueva Orleans en barcos Nacionales, ó Neutros con entera libertad de derechos; pero observandose las formalidades, manifestos permisos y demas que se acostumbran en todo Pais civilizado.

Conoci que en el estado de las cosas, lo propuesto por los Vocales era el unico partido que podia abrazarse y en su virtud me conformé á ello, sin perjuicio de variar quando crea deba hacerlo, y

be granted this province in view of its local needs and the political situation, I did not believe that I was under any obligation to permit the continuation of his measures until the king should be pleased to indicate his royal pleasure in regard to the representations which had been made to him. On the contrary, I thought I ought to put into force in this case the regulation which such cases demand by their very nature.

For my better guidance I thought it prudent also to discuss the matter in a *Junta de Real Hacienda*. Having summoned it on the 10th of this month, I stated all the circumstances which might enable the members to base their opinion upon a full knowledge of the state of affairs, as your Excellency will see by copy No. 5 of the *acuerdo*. After a lengthy conference, they voted unanimously that from that day forward, for the duration of the war with Great Britain or until the king should decide otherwise, neutral commerce should be permitted at this place under the same rules, duties, and conditions tolerated during the late war by decision of the *Junta de Real Hacienda* held at New Orleans, June 12, 1798.²¹¹ These were that a six per cent duty should be paid on the value of goods imported and an equal amount on the products exported, and that on its arrival at Barrancas each ship should deliver to the employee or other person authorized to receive it a general manifest of the cargo, and should deliver to the intendancy, in order to obtain permission to unload, detailed and sworn invoices, and that in the unloading the greatest care be used to avoid the penalty of confiscation of goods [p. 6] which are found but which have not been declared or to have paid the duty on goods declared but not found; that in addition to the produce of the province, the intendancy might consent to the exportation of specie under the rules and conditions set forth in the royal order of April 2, 1797, which, since it was lost when it was first issued, was repeated in a subsequent order of April 10, 1800;²¹² and finally that, pending the beginning and development of the said neutral trade, importations from New Orleans to this port and to that of Mobile in Spanish or neutral vessels should continue to be permitted without the payment of any duty whatever, but subject to the same formalities, manifests, permits, and other regulations common to every civilized country.

I knew that in the present state of affairs what was proposed by the members of the *Junta* was the only course which could be taken, and consequently I agreed to it, reserving the right to make changes

mandé se llevase á efecto. Participolo á V.E. para su debido conocimiento y con el fin de que sirviendose elevarlo á noticia [pág. 7] del Rey se digne dispensar su R^l aprobacion, ó mandar expedir las ordenes y prevenciones que sean de su agrado Soberano.

Nuestro Señor prospere la importante vida de V.E. m^s a^s Panzacola 31 de Marzo de 1806.

Exñno. Señor.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[*Rubricado*]

D^o

[*Dirección:*] Exñno. Sñr. Dⁿ Miguel Cayetano Soler.

XXX. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDENTE INTERINO DE LA FLORIDA OCCIDENTAL, AL MINISTRO MIGUEL CAYETANO SOLER, SOBRE EL COMERCIO AMERICANO DEL RIO DE LA MOVILA.

Panzacola, 30 de Abril de 1808

[Pág. 1]

Exñno Señor.

N^o 553.
El Yntendente
int^o de la Florida
Occid^l dá cuenta
de haberse
acordado en Junta
de R^l Hacienda
libertad de contri-
bucion de derechos
los viveres y
efectos que los
habitantes de
Movila extragesen
de la Nueva
Orleans con destino
á los establecimi-
entos Americanos
del Tombeché é
introdugesen en la
Movila; y dando
las razones en que

Leido en la Junta de Real Hazienda, celebrada en 12 del feneciente mes, el oficio del Comandante Subdelegado de la Plaza de Mobila que en copia acompaña bajo el N^o 1^o en el qual me hizo presente el perjuicio que resultaba á aquellos vecinos del embargo puesto por los Americanos en sus Puertos; y hechos cargo los vocales de que á consecuencia de lo acordado en la Junta de 10 de Marzo de 1.806, cuya determinacion merecio la aprobacion de S.M. en Real Orden de 7, de Noviembre del mismo año, los referidos vecinos podian recurrir á la [pág. 2] Plaza de la Nueva Orleans por quanto necesitaran para su consumo sin contribucion de derechos al tiempo de la introduccion y considerando igualmente que este medio les quedaba obstruido por el rigor con que los Americanos observaban el embargo; pareciendoles ademas que en circunstancias tan criticas debian adoptarse quantas medidas dictasen la prudencia para dejar sin efecto las ideas del Gobierno de los Estados Vnidos en punto á que la hambre produxese las resultas que se esperaban: segun lo manifiesta la Copia N^o 2, del acuerdo, fueron

when I thought I should do so, and I ordered it carried into effect. I inform your Excellency of this for your information and in order that should you be pleased to bring it to the notice [p. 7] of the king he may graciously accord his royal approval or have issued such orders and directions as may be his sovereign pleasure.

May our Lord favor your Excellency's important life many years. Pensacola, March 31, 1806.

Most Excellent Sir,

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

Duplicate.

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Don Miguel Cayetano Soler.

XXX. JUAN VENTURA MORALES, INTENDANT *AD INTERIM* OF WEST FLORIDA, TO MINISTER MIGUEL CAYETANO SOLER, RELATIVE TO AMERICAN COMMERCE ON THE MOBILE RIVER.²¹³

Pensacola, April 30, 1808

[P. 1]

Most Excellent Sir:

I read in the *Junta de Real Hacienda* held on the 12th of this month, a despatch from the *comandante subdelegado*²¹⁴ of the town of Mobile, of which the enclosed document No. 1 is a copy, and in which he informed me of the injury that has been done the people of that place by the embargo imposed by the Americans in their ports.²¹⁵ The members of the *Junta* were also reminded that, in consequence of the decision of that body on March 10, 1806,²¹⁶ which was approved by his Majesty in a royal order of November 7 of the same year, the said inhabitants were permitted to obtain from the [p. 2] town of New Orleans whatever might be needed for their consumption without paying duties on its importation. It was also taken into consideration that this recourse was obstructed by the rigor with which the Americans were observing the embargo. Moreover, since the members held that in such a critical situation all measures should be adopted which prudence might dictate for the defeat of the purpose of the government of the United States namely that hunger would bring about the hoped-for results, as copy No. 2 of the resolution shows, they were of the unanimous

No. 553.

The intendant *ad interim* of West Florida reports that it has been agreed in a *Junta de Real Hacienda* to exempt from the payment of duties the provisions and articles which the inhabitants of Mobile obtain from New Orleans for the American settlements on the Tombigbee and which they import into Mobile; and he states the considerations on which this measure was based, as well as the reason for

se ha fundado esta
providencia, y la
de extender la
libertad de de-
rechos á los viveres
produccion de
dhos. estableci-
mientos q^a baxen á la
Mobila; reclama la
aprobacion
Soberana.

de opinion unanime que á todos los habitantes de Mobila, y aun otras personas que hubiesen registrado en el Nuevo Orleans viveres, y otros efectos con destino á los establecimientos Americanos del Tombecbé, y [pág. 3] pagado los derechos de entrada y salida al tiempo de su pase por la Mobila, se les devuelva el importe de los citados derechos correspondientes á los viveres, y demas efectos procedentes de la Nueva Orleans que volviesen á introducir en la citada Plaza de Mobila, mediante que presentaran relacion jurada de los que eran, y que por el encargado de Real Hazienda se reconociese su efectiva existencia: dandose ademas por el Subdelegado de aquella Plaza las providencias convenientes á cortar se introdugesen abusos en perjuicio de los Reales intereses: é igualmente convencidos los mismos vocales de la necesidad de promover por todos los medios posibles el abasto de la provincia, fueron de parecer que los viveres, produccion de los establecimientos Americanos del Tombecbé [pág. 4] que entrasen en la Plaza de Mobila lo executasen libres de toda contribucion mientras durara el embargo de los Americanos; de cuya gracia no disfrutarian los que exportasen para el extranjero, pues en este caso quedarian sugetos á las reglas establecidas anteriormente. Y habiendome conformado á todo lo referido por juzgarlo conveniente y necesario á salvar la Provincia de los horrores de la hambre en que esta visiblemente conocido pretende sumergirla el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos, y mandado se noticiase en respuesta al Comandante Subdelegado de Mobila, lo participo á V.E. para que elevandolo á la comprehension del Rey, se digne dispensar su Real aprobacion á unas providencias que tienen por objeto contrarrestar las miras [pág. 5] ambiciosas, é inhumanas del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos.

Nuestro Señor prospere la importante vida de V.E. muchos años.
Panzacola 30 de Abril de 1.808.

Exñmo Señor.

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[*Rubricado*]

[*Dirección:*] Exñmo Señor Dⁿ Miguel Cayetano Soler.

opinion that all the inhabitants of Mobile, and even other persons, who had taken registered cargoes of provisions and other articles in New Orleans for the American settlements on the Tombigbee and [p. 3] had paid the import and export duties on their passage through Mobile, should receive a drawback to the amount of the said duties in the case of all provisions and other articles proceeding from New Orleans which they might bring back for importation into the said town of Mobile, provided they should present a sworn statement showing what these items were and that the proper agent of the treasury should verify their actual presence. It was also stipulated that the *subdelegado* of that place should take suitable measures in order to prevent abuses contrary to the royal interests from creeping in. And the same members, convinced likewise of the necessity of promoting by every possible means the provisioning of the province, were of the opinion that provisions which were the product of the American settlements on the Tombigbee [p. 4] and were imported into the town of Mobile should be permitted to enter duty-free during the continuation of the American embargo. This concession should not be shared by those exporting to foreign countries, for in this case they should still be subjected to the rules previously established. And having agreed to all that has been set forth, since I thought it proper and necessary in order to save the province from the horrors of starvation, into which it is a matter of common knowledge that the government of the United States wishes to plunge it, and having ordered that this should be made known in reply to the *comandante subdelegado* of Mobile, I communicate it to your Excellency in order that you may bring it to the attention of the king and that he may be pleased to approve measures which are designed to check the ambitious and inhuman plans [p. 5] of the government of the United States.

May our Lord prosper your Excellency's important life many years. Pensacola, April 30, 1808.

Most Excellent Sir,

JUAN VENTURA MORALES.

[*Rubric*]

[*Addressed:*] Most Excellent Sir, Don Miguel Cayetano Soler.

extending the exemption from duties to the provisions which are the produce of those settlements and are brought down to Mobile; and asks the sovereign approval.

NOTES
TO THE DOCUMENTS

NOTES

1, p. 3. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21. The summary gives the year as 1779. This is obviously an error for 1778. A summary (*resumen, extracto*) of an important document was made for the head of the department by the appropriate *mesa* or bureau within the department. At this time all colonial affairs were handled through one department and the head of this department was José de Gálvez. Upon his death in 1787, two colonial departments were created, one for Grace and Justice, the other for War and Treasury. In 1790, another change was made, the colonial departments being suppressed and colonial affairs distributed among the departments of Spain.

2, p. 3. After leaving Bordeaux, Las Heras served as Spanish consul at Algiers and as consul general at London. In 1799, he was appointed intendant of Louisiana and West Florida, but was retired from active service before leaving for his new post. In the same year his daughter was married, with the consent of the Directory and of the king of Spain, to Citizen Fréville, secretary of the French legation in Spain. The French report on this affair spoke of Las Heras as a devoted friend of France, but said that he was also highly esteemed in Spain for his "droiture et probité la plus sévère" (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, *Espagne*, 655:335). His place as intendant of Louisiana was taken by López y Angulo (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2607 *moderno*, Urquijo to López y Angulo, Aranjuez, May 4, 1799). Bordeaux's large share in the Louisiana trade made it quite proper for the Spanish consul there to take an interest in the subject. One of the earliest demands for the retrocession of Louisiana came from Bordeaux (see Introduction, p. xlv).

3, p. 3. There is a printed copy of this decree in A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, entitled "Real Decreto, que previene las reglas, y condiciones con que se puede entacer el comercio desde España à la provincia de la Luisiana. Año de 1768. . . . En la Imprenta de Don Gabriel Ramirez . . ." It is dated El Pardo, March 23, 1768, and contains seventeen articles. It declared the following ports of Spain habilitated for trade with Louisiana: Cadiz, Seville, Alicante, Cartagena, Malaga, Barcelona, Santander, Corunna, and Gijón; and referred to a similar order regulating the commerce of the Islas de Barlovento (Windward Islands). It further provided that no ship bound for Louisiana should touch at any other port in Spanish America except in case of dire necessity; granted exemption from duties on goods exported from Spain to Louisiana; imposed a four per cent duty on goods imported into Spain from Louisiana; permitted foreign goods to be re-exported duty free from Spain to Louisiana, provided the regular import duties had been paid; and required the ships' captains to present a *tornaguta* (landing certificate) upon their return to Spain. See Introduction, p. xxiv.

4, p. 9. A habilitated port was one that had been granted the privilege of participating in the trade with the colonies. A list of the ports habilitated for trade with Louisiana by the decree of 1768 is given *ante* in note 3. In addition to these ports, Almería, Los Alfaques de Tortosa, La Palma en Mallorca, and Santa Cruz de Tenerife were habilitated for trade with all the Spanish colonies by the Ordinance of Free Commerce of 1778 (see Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiv. This list is taken from Antúñez y Acevedo, *Memorias Históricas*, p. 37). The ports of Vigo, Sanlúcar, and El Grao de Valencia were added to the list within the next few years (A.G.I., Indiferente General, 151-5-14, draft of a letter to

Antonio Ventura de Taranco, Aranjuez, March 6, 1794). Desdevises du Dezert states that San Sebastián was habilitated in 1788 ("La Richesse et la Civilisation Espagnoles au XVIII^e Siècle," *Revue Hispanique*, LXXIII. 188, note 2), but this appears to be an error.

5, p. 11. Herbert I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, p. 34, note 46, and Desdevises du Dezert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 203-207, give brief accounts of the Spanish commercial companies. See the account of Spanish commerce in the eighteenth century in Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, VI. 156-178.

6, p. 11. See references in James A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States*, I. 239, note.

7, p. 11. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21. October 24, 1778, is the date of Gálvez's despatch. This summary was made in continuation of the summary of Las Heras's representation (Document No. I). Bernardo de Gálvez, nephew of the colonial secretary, José de Gálvez, was born at Malaga, Spain, in 1746. Appointed governor and intendant of Louisiana in 1776, he entered upon the duties of his office on February 1, 1777. He became successively governor of Louisiana and West Florida, captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas and of Cuba, and viceroy of New Spain, and was ennobled as Conde de Gálvez. His most notable achievement was the conquest of British West Florida. For his family connections in Louisiana, see Introduction, p. xxviii. A brief biographical sketch of Gálvez by the present editor will be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

8, p. 11. *I.e.*, the representation of Las Heras, of which Document No. I is a summary.

9, p. 17. Gálvez refers specifically to Article VII of the treaty of 1763, by which the subjects of Great Britain were granted the free navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to the sea. Professor Samuel F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, p. 4, states that Spain "did her best to vitiate that right, after 1769, by refusing to allow those [*i.e.*, British] ships to moor on shore . . ." It is interesting to compare this statement with Gálvez's statement that "English ships . . . idle along the [Mississippi] river and, according to the treaties of peace, they cannot be prevented from anchoring and mooring wherever they see fit." Gálvez wrote this in 1778, at a time when he had been discharging the duties of governor and intendant of Louisiana for more than a year. The authority cited by Professor Bemis (Vera Lee Brown, "Anglo-Spanish Relations in America in the Closing Years of the Colonial Era," *Hispanic American Historical Review* V. 370) does not seem to support his statement.

10, p. 19. Desdevises du Dezert states that in 1778 the Spanish merchant marine consisted of only 400 or 500 ships of all dimensions, and that in 1801 the number had increased only to 932, with a total tonnage of 150,014 tons. He adds that the coastwise trade of the Peninsula itself was almost entirely in the hands of the English, Dutch, and French. ("La Richesse et la Civilisation Espagnoles au XVIII^e Siècle," *loc. cit.*, p. 192.)

11, p. 19. Gálvez doubtless refers to the evacuation of the eastern frontier of Texas in 1773 under orders from the court. The "presidio de los Texas" was situated upward of one hundred miles west of Natchitoches on the road to San Antonio de Béjar and Mexico. The region was reoccupied in 1779. See Herbert E. Bolton, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (University of California Publications in History, Berkeley, 1915), pp. 387-393, 432-445, and map at end; and Charles W. Hackett, ed., *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, I. (Austin, Texas, 1931), pp. 336, 410, 411, and map, between pp. 474 and 475.

12, p. 21. It might be remarked that this "refined policy" was in fact followed

by most of the governors and intendants of Louisiana and West Florida from the time of Gálvez to the end of the eighteenth century.

13, p. 21. The subsidy or *situado* (as the term is used in this instance) was a subvention sent by the Spanish government to defray the expenses of colonial governments that were not self-supporting. The *situado* of Louisiana was sent from Vera Cruz and amounted at this time to about 500,000 pesos a year. For the relation of the *situado* to the commerce of the colony, see Introduction, p. xl.

14, p. 21. This is the date when the *resumen* was made. As stated in note 7, the date of Gálvez's dispatch was October 24, 1778.

15, p. 23. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21. This document is of the same kind as Document No. I—a summary prepared for the head of the department. Maxent's original representation is in *ibid.* It is not dated, but bears his autograph signature, "Gilberto Antonio de Maxent." The marginal notes were made by José de Gálvez.

16, p. 23. The original French form of Maxent's name was Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent. A brief account of his connection with the Indian trade and the cédula of 1782 is given in the Introduction, p. xxviii. It might be added that José de Gálvez gave him further assistance in the form of a letter to a wealthy merchant of Cadiz, Francisco Fernández de Ravago, who was thus induced to finance the Indian trade project. On his arrival in Paris, Maxent was courteously received by the Spanish ambassador, Conde de Aranda. The preliminary peace negotiations were then in progress and Maxent joined in the popular sport of drawing the western boundary of the United States. His proposal was distinguished for its massive simplicity, for the boundary that he proposed began to the northward of the Great Lakes, ran through the middle of Lake Michigan and continued in an uncompromisingly straight line to the southern tip of the Florida peninsula (Yela Utrilla, *España ante la Independencia de los Estados Unidos*, II. 357). Its chief merit was that it would have assured Spain's possession of the country inhabited by the Indian tribes with whom Maxent planned to trade.

His promising enterprise was wrecked on the rocks of British sea power. With two vessels flying the imperial flag and carrying a stock of goods that he later valued at 278,000 pesos, he was captured and taken to Jamaica, where his cargoes were condemned and sold as prizes. Some of the goods he himself bought back and took to Florida, where they were used as presents for the Indians at the congress of Pensacola in 1784; but he was in such straits that he was forced to borrow £800 in Jamaica currency from an English gentleman in order to get from Jamaica to Havana. His ruin was complete. Shortly after his return to Louisiana he found himself harassed not only by the English gentleman of Jamaica and by the Cadiz merchant, Fernández de Ravago, who sought to recover the sums they had advanced him, but also by a charge of smuggling specie from Jamaica to Havana, an affair in which it was said that Francisco de Miranda was also implicated (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 175, J. de Gálvez to Miró, January 9, 1784). Maxent was arrested and suspended from all his offices and an embargo placed on all his property. The Ravago affair was not settled until 1787, when the unfortunate Cadiz merchant was forced to accept payment of the debt (officially fixed at 147,241 pesos and 6½ reales) in the depreciated paper currency of Louisiana. He charged the officials of Louisiana with shielding Maxent from justice, and the extant documents seem to support the charge. (Except as otherwise indicated, the account of Maxent's affairs given in this note and the Introduction is based on the following documents: A.G.I., P.C., leg. 1375, J. de Gálvez to B. de Gálvez, July 1, 1782, No. 132; *ibid.*, same to same, same date, No. 133; *ibid.*, leg. 197, declaration by Castell Sowley, Jamaica, December 18, 1784; *ibid.*, Sto. Dom., 86-6-16, Miró to Valdés, November 3, 1787, No. 8, and enclo-

tures, including an *instancia* by Maxent, dated December 12, 1787; *ibid.*, 86-7-15, Memorial of Francisco Fernández de Ravago, Cadiz, February 6, 1787; *ibid.*, Miró to the Condesa de Gálvez, October 6, 1786; *ibid.*, Navarro to Valdés, October 31, 1787, No. 13; *ibid.*, Valdés to Navarro, September 19, 1788, draft.)

17, p. 28. See the brief discussion of this Ordinance in the Introduction, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

18, p. 23. This refers of course to the conquest of West Florida by Bernardo de Gálvez, 1779-1781.

19, p. 23. That is, the Ordinance of Free Commerce of 1778.

20, p. 25. Port au Prince, French Santo Domingo.

21, p. 25. The Cape, French Santo Domingo.

22, p. 25. The same idea, more fully developed, is found in the "Reflections" of Martin Navarro, intendant of Louisiana, published in Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States*, I, 237 ff. The editor dates this document as "ca. 1785," but as a matter of fact it was transmitted to the court by Navarro in a despatch dated September 24, 1780 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-1-19, Navarro to José de Gálvez, No. 23, enclosing the document in question under the title "Memoria o Reflexiones"). Another valuable paper on the same subject was sent to the court by Navarro the following year. It was entitled "Circunstancias vajo las quales combendra establecer el Comercio de la Provincia de la Luisiana," and argued that, in case his former recommendation of free trade with all nations were not adopted, Louisiana should at least be permitted to trade with France. (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-1-19, Navarro to José de Gálvez, July 20, 1781, No. 62, enclosing the project.) Biographical data concerning Navarro will be found *post*, in note 95.

23, p. 27. By a royal order of May 9, 1785, commerce with Louisiana was restricted to French ports in which consuls resided, and vice consuls were prohibited from authorizing expeditions to that colony. The order named Bordeaux, St. Malo and Rouen as the habilitated ports of France (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21, J. de Gálvez to Manuel de las Heras, draft). By a royal order of July 2, 1786, Nantes was substituted for St. Malo (*ibid.*, J. de Gálvez to the Intendant of Louisiana, draft). Le Havre was also permitted to engage in the trade, since it was under the jurisdiction of the same Spanish consul as Rouen (*ibid.*, Manuel Antonio Muñoz y Goossens to Gardoqui, Rouen, May 25, 1792).

24, p. 27. That is, ships engaged in trade with the Spanish colonies under the Ordinance of Free Commerce of 1778.

25, p. 29. A valuable account of this institution is given by Desdevises du Dezert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 146-152. The *consulado* was a kind of chamber of commerce with judicial functions conferred upon it by the king. At the end of the eighteenth century there were *consulados* at Barcelona, La Palma, Alicante, Carthagena, Malaga, Cadiz, La Laguna de Tenerife, Seville, Madrid, Burgos, Corunna, Santander, Bilbao, and San Sebastián. "The consular judges, elected by their equals, were chosen from among the landed proprietors, the manufacturers, the wholesale and even the retail merchants. The king conferred upon them the character of royal judges and required the pleaders to show them the same respect as other judges. Every *consulado* had its own peculiar organization." The *consulados* were consulted in regard to the regulation of commerce in Louisiana and Florida (see Document No. IX and notes).

26, p. 29. As used here, the term means the duty imposed upon foreign ships acquired by Spaniards (Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies*, 88). *Extranjería* was also used to denote the customs duty imposed upon foreign goods imported into Spanish territory.

27, p. 29. A surtax of two and one-half per cent of the full amount of the tonnage duties (Haring, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 88). See *Recopilación de Leyes de los*

Reynos de las Indias (Madrid, 1756, 2nd ed.), Lib. VIII, Tit. XIX (Vol. III), fol. 91.

28, p. 29. This is the date of José de Gálvez's minute indicating his decision on the representation. The representation itself is not dated.

29, p. 31. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-21, *impreso*. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III. 153-156, summarizes this cédula. The text of it, without the preamble, is in M. Serrano y Sanz, *España y los Indios Cheroquis y Chactas* . . . (Seville, 1916), 15-18.

30, p. 31. Introduction, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

31, p. 31. Document No. II. The recommendations made by Intendant Martin Navarro in 1780 and 1781 (see *ante*, note 22) were probably in conformity with Gálvez's ideas at that time.

32, p. 33. Document No. III.

33, p. 33. Peace with Great Britain. The definitive treaty, signed September 3, 1783, was proclaimed in Louisiana early in 1784, and the cédula should, therefore, have remained in effect until the same period in 1794 (see Navarro's statement in Document No. XII), but it seems to have been assumed at court that it would expire in 1792. A royal order was consequently issued extending it until the adoption of the new ordinance (A.G.I., 87-3-19, Lerena to the Governor and Intendant of Louisiana, Aranjuez, May 28, 1791, draft).

34, p. 33. See *ante*, note 23.

35, p. 35. This restriction was relaxed in 1785 (see Introduction, p. xl).

36, p. 37. See *ante*, notes 26 and 27.

37, p. 37. The new customs service (*Administración General de Reales Rentas*) was established at New Orleans June 6, 1785 (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 511, "Libro General" for the period June 6—December 31, 1785). The delay was due mainly to the requirement that the new tariff should be first submitted to Gálvez and then forwarded for the king's approval before going into effect.

38, p. 39. A.G.I., P.C., leg. 1375. Copy, unsigned.

39, p. 39. This probably refers to Pantón, Leslie and Company. For a brief account of this company, see Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxix, and Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier*, pp. 36-46 and 177-180. Miss Elizabeth Howard West is preparing for publication by The Florida State Historical Society a volume of documents relating to this company.

40, p. 39. See Introduction, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

41, p. 41. Cf. Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 64 ff.

42, p. 41. This passage is misleading, for it gives the impression that Gálvez had on his own authority altered the Laws of the Indies and established a liberal immigration policy in Louisiana. As a matter of fact, immigration from the United States was on the whole discouraged and non-Catholics were excluded until 1787 (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 101, 102).

43, p. 43. A.H.N., Est., leg. 3893. The letter was written at Havana, through which Gardoqui passed on his way to New York. Accompanying documents show that Floridablanca sent this letter and another of Gardoqui's of January 29, 1785, to Antonio Valdés, secretary of the navy, who replied that, without naming Gardoqui, he would use the information contained in them in order to facilitate an inquiry into the conduct of the commandant of the *Chambequin*. The writer cannot state the result of the inquiry. Gardoqui's letter is reproduced in this volume because it is the testimony of an eyewitness and a Spaniard to the incompetence of Spanish navigators. This incompetence is all the more striking in view of the determined efforts of the Spanish government to develop both the merchant marine and the navy, efforts that were particularly persistent in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The reader will find a brief account

of the Spanish merchant marine at this period, with little attention to navigation, in G. Desdevises du Dezert, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192-195.

44, p. 49. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-22, No. 17 *res.* Céspedes was governor of East Florida from 1784 to 1790.

45, p. 49. This "description or sketch" accompanies the despatch, and is entitled "Descrip[c]ion de la Florida Oryental su Clima, Terreno, Productos, Rios, Barras, Bahias, Puertos Numero, y calidades de Gente que la Havitan." It is a lengthy document, containing about 7000 words. For that reason Céspedes's covering despatch, which gives a brief but adequate summary of the "Descripción" and also contains additional information, is presented here.

45a, p. 49. Michael O'Reilly was for many years of the second Spanish occupation the auxiliary parish priest at St. Augustine, the parish priest being Thomas Hassett. His signature appears in the parish registers still conserved at St. Augustine as early as August 27, 1785, and he continued to sign the registers on into the next century.

46, p. 49. The "North or St. Marks" River runs directly northward from St. Augustine, paralleling the coast. "Don Pablo" may be a copyist's error for "San Pablo" (St. Paul), for a Spanish map of this region prepared by a Spanish naval officer in 1787 shows the "Rio San Pablo" (St. Pauls River) as a southern tributary of the St. Johns River. Its position on the map, together with the data in the "Descripción," indicates that this was the "channel of Don Pablo" mentioned by Céspedes. The "Descripción" states that the construction of such a canal had already been proposed by Manuel Montiano, governor of Florida (1737-1749).

47, p. 49. The "Descripción" gives the strength of this detachment as fourteen soldiers, including a sergeant and a corporal.

48, p. 49. According to the "Descripción" this name was applied to the bar lying between Talbot Island and St. George Island, where the water was so shallow that only small rowboats could cross it. The Spanish map of 1787 (see *ante*, note 46) calls this "Boca Chica," and states that St. George was the name given by the English to the island known by the Spaniards as San Juan.

49, p. 49. While "camino real" literally means "royal road," the term was used indiscriminately to indicate any well known road. It does not even mean "main road." In the present case, for instance, the "camino real" was nothing more than a trading path connecting Georgia with the Indian country.

50, p. 49. The "Descripción" estimates the distance of Lake George from the mouth of St. Johns River at 70 leagues, and states that the river was navigable up to that point for all ships that could cross the bar, where there was a depth of eight or nine feet at low tide and thirteen or fourteen at high tide.

51, p. 49. See *post*, note 125.

52, p. 51. See *post*, note 144.

53, p. 53. The same measure was adopted and was executed with more success by Baron Carondelet, governor of Louisiana from 1792 to 1797. Some of the French victims of the Gallipolis enterprise were settled in Louisiana and an immigration agent was sent to New York to catch European immigrants as they landed in the United States and induce them to go at once to the Spanish dominions on the Mississippi. Even Carondelet, however, was but partially successful, and it is easy to understand why Spain failed to divert any of these immigrants to poverty-stricken East Florida.

54, p. 53. Spain adopted a much more ambitious plan of immigration in 1787-1788 and obtained many recruits for Louisiana and West Florida in the United States, but few for East Florida.

55, p. 57. This was the Spanish name for the Straits of Florida. The "Descripción" spoke of the straits as "renowned for an insuperably rapid current, perilous keys, shallows and frequent shipwrecks." See Document No. X.

56, p. 61. A John Cruden acted as agent for Cornwallis in South Carolina, and later became a schoolmaster in Nassau, New Providence Island. Shortly after the end of the American Revolution, he proposed a mad scheme for the recovery by England of the late colonies. See Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida* (DeLand, 1929), I. 122, 148, 167, 169-170, II. 258, note, 361.

57, p. 63. A.H.N., Est., "Actas de la Suprema Junta de Estado." The instructions, drawn up by Conde de Floridablanca, were given to the newly established Junta de Estado by Charles III. The full title of these instructions is as follows: "Instrucción reservada que la Junta de Estado creada formalmente por mi Decreto de este día deberá observar en todos los puntos y ramos encargados a su conocimiento y dictamen." They have been published in *Obras Originales del Conde de Floridablanca* (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, LIX., Madrid, 1899), pp. 213-272. The Junta de Estado had a brief existence, giving way in 1792 to the Consejo de Estado (see *post*, note 147).

58, p. 63. That is, the Ordinance of 1778. See Introduction, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

59, p. 63. This reference to the "Spanish intrigue" with the American frontiersmen is doubly interesting in view of the fact that James Wilkinson's first memorial on the subject was not written until three months after the date of these Instructions. As the present writer has pointed out elsewhere, the idea of separating the western part of the United States from the rest of the Union was suggested to the Spanish government in August, 1786, and April, 1787, respectively, by James White and Pierre Wouves d'Argès. Wilkinson's memorial, which was not received by the Spanish court until 1788, merely added authority and explicitness to suggestions contained in the proposals of White and d'Argès. The first formal decision of the Spanish government in regard to the intrigue, after, and in pursuance of, the Instructions of 1787, is contained in the royal order of December 1, 1788. See Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-107. For the connection between the Spanish intrigue and the commercial system in Louisiana, see Introduction, p. xli and note 49 thereto.

60, p. 63. The policy of Spain toward the southern Indians had already been formulated and applied in the treaties of 1784 and in the concessions made to Pantón and other British traders in the Floridas (Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-46).

61, p. 65. Floridablanca had been repeatedly advised by Gardoqui, the Spanish envoy at New York, of the eagerness of the United States to obtain a favorable commercial treaty with Spain, and it was hoped that their desire might be used as a lever to obtain for the latter a favorable settlement of the dispute over the boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi River. Even when Spain yielded the chief points in dispute (Treaty of San Lorenzo, 1795), Godoy hoped to the last moment to obtain an alliance with the United States in return for a commercial treaty; but he hoped in vain.

62, p. 65. A.G.I., 87-3-19, endorsed "Junta particular del Comº de Barcelona." It is accompanied by the covering letter from the Baron de la Linde to Valdés, Barcelona, June 28, 1788. The report was made in response to a royal order of April 21, 1788, which was also transmitted to the *consulados* of other Spanish ports habilitated for trade with Louisiana and West Florida. The report from Corunna complained that the English were selling 200,000 pesos' worth of flour a year in certain Spanish American ports, and maintained that Spanish trade with the colonies would never flourish until Spain once more monopolized their commerce completely. The Santander report was distinguished by the brilliant proposal that the privileged ports of Bilbao and San Sebastián should be treated as foreign ports and excluded from trade with the colonies. In short, these reports are one more indication that at this time the Spanish court was far more liberal than the Spanish people. This subject is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xlii, xliii. The term *consulado* is explained, *ante*, in note 25.

63, p. 65. See *post*, note 119.

64, p. 71. The United States.

65, p. 73. As a matter of fact, peltry stood third, not first, in the list of exports from Louisiana at this time. In a letter from Martín Navarro to Valdés, dated January 15, 1789 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19), it was stated that the annual value of the exports of Louisiana (expressed in pesos) was as follows:

Indigo	325,000
Surplus tobacco	100,000
Peltry	115,000
Lumber	85,000
Rice	20,000
Salt meat	10,000
Pitch	5,000

By "surplus tobacco," Navarro meant the tobacco produced in excess of the amount purchased by the king, which was about 160,000 pesos' worth in 1788 (two million pounds at eight pesos per hundred pounds). Peltry (or to be precise, skins and hides) was the chief export item in the Floridas at this time. The failure of the Barcelona *consulado* to distinguish between the Floridas, where the crudest frontier conditions still prevailed, and Louisiana, where a substantial agricultural community was rapidly developing, is a commentary on the ignorance of American affairs that was common among even those Spaniards (government officials rarely excepted) who pretended to have some knowledge of them.

66, p. 75. A.H.N., Est., leg. 3889, *expediente* No. 6. See *post*, note 89. Salcedo's opinion is valuable because he was at this time the chief official of the *Mesa de la Luisiana*, or Louisiana Bureau, in the Department of War and Treasury for the Colonies, and might therefore be expected to represent the most enlightened view of Spanish interests in this part of America.

67, p. 77. This is another instance of the ignorance of American conditions that afflicted even those Spaniards who pretended to speak as experts. The Appalachian mountains run out into the Gulf Plains in northern Georgia and Alabama, and an expedition marching from St. Augustine to any of the Spanish posts in West Florida would have had to go several hundred miles out of its way in order to reach those mountains.

68, p. 79. These three places are shown on the map that accompanied the "Discourse." A reproduction of this map faces p. 96.

69, p. 81. Salcedo seems to have been unaware that in the latter part of the seventeenth century, as well as subsequently, the chief function of St. Augustine was to serve as an outpost against the English in Carolina. The Anglo-Spanish rivalries of this earlier period are discussed in Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land* (Berkeley, 1925), and Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier* (Durham, 1928).

70, p. 81. This statement may have been based on the "Discurso Preliminar sobre Indios" sent to the court by Governor Céspedes in despatch No. 184 *de preferencia*, November 16, 1786 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-16).

71, p. 81. Salcedo's information on this and several other points was evidently taken from Governor Céspedes's "Descripción de la Florida Oriental" of April 15, 1787 (see *ante*, note 45).

72, p. 81. Vicente Manuel de Céspedes, governor of East Florida. See *ante*, note 71.

73, p. 83. A convention between England and Spain concluded in 1786.

74, p. 85. The present writer did not find this Plan, but the places named appear on Salcedo's map, facing p. 96.

75, p. 85. A *Junta de Generales* took the same view in 1795, when it was called on to consider Governor Carondelet's plan of multiplying small forts in the Mississippi Valley as a defense against the United States (A.H.N., Est., leg. 3899, Campo Alange to the Prince of the Peace, San Lorenzo, December 2, 1795).

76, p. 85. In this case, "dotación" seems to have the same meaning as "situado." See *ante*, note 13.

77, p. 89. Although there was nothing to show that the United States possessed either the desire or the ability to conquer Mexico or even Louisiana, the anxiety of Salcedo and other Spanish officials seems to have been genuine. Their anxiety proceeded from their fear not of the government of the United States but of the people, especially the frontiersmen, whom the government might not be able to restrain. There was also the traditional Spanish fear, dating from the time of La Salle, of an overland attack on Mexico by any power that held possessions and a base of operations on the Mississippi. In 1788, Spanish official circles were extraordinarily sensitive on the subject because of the warnings that had come within the past year from such men as d'Argès and Wilkinson. These seemed to justify the uneasiness induced by the Bourbon County episode (see *post*, note 79).

78, p. 89. This evidently refers to the American frontier settlements in the Mississippi Valley, not to the Indian "nations" or tribes. Salcedo's use of the term "nation" in this sense is rather puzzling.

79, p. 91. For a brief discussion of the Bourbon County episode, with references, see Whitaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-58.

80, p. 91. Salcedo refers to the mission of Pierre Wouves d'Argès, which Floridablanca had authorized in 1787 (*ibid.*, pp. 78-89). He does not refer to the intrigue with James Wilkinson, for the court still had Wilkinson's memorial under consideration and reached a decision only on November 20, 1788, three months after the date of the "Discourse."

81, p. 91. Provinces on the northern frontier of New Spain. ". . . After 1776 the expression ['Provincias Internas'] had a technical meaning." A royal order of that year erected the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas, New Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, and the Californias into a new government under a "commandant general of the Interior Provinces." Herbert E. Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, 1913), p. 75.

82, p. 93. See *post*, note 89.

83, p. 93. That is, the treaty of September 3, 1783.

84, p. 95. See *post*, note 89.

85, p. 95. Yucatan does not appear on Salcedo's map.

86, p. 97. Abel Buell (1742-1822) was a versatile Connecticut Yankee and the engraver of a large wall map of the territories of the United States according to the peace of 1783. The map, which was published in March, 1784, had the distinction of being the first of its kind, but was crude and soon outmoded. Buell also engraved the charts of the Florida coast made by Bernard Romans. (See article "Abel Buell" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and "Abel Buell of Connecticut, silver smith, type founder, and engraver," by Lawrence Wroth, [Acorn Club of Connecticut, 1926].)

87, p. 97. The Spanish post of San Marcos de Apalache (St. Marks) was re-established in 1787 in order to prevent contraband trade between the Indians of that region and British smugglers from the Bahamas. It also served to protect a branch store that Charles McLatchy, one of Panton's associates, had established there during the American Revolution. For thirty years a Spanish garrison and trading house were maintained at St. Marks. The best known episode in

its history is its seizure by Andrew Jackson in 1818. A plan of the Spanish fort at St. Marks drawn up in 1791 is reproduced in this volume, facing p. 98.

88, p. 99. This note was written by one of the officials in the Department of War and Treasury for the Colonies, and shows the use that was made of the "Discourse" before it was submitted to Floridablanca. See also *post*, note 89.

89, p. 99. On January 25, 1790, Valdés transmitted the "Discourse" to Floridablanca, who made the following autograph note on the letter of transmission: "All this has been considered and will be considered again when the time is opportune. Keep it." ("Todo se ha tenido prest^o y se tendra en ocas^on oportuna : guard^o") See Introduction, note 44. Upon the reorganization of the colonial departments in 1790, the *expediente* on the cession of East Florida was assigned to Floridablanca's Department of State (A.H.N., Est., "Actas de la Suprema Junta de Estado," May 10, 1790).

90, p. 99. A.H.N., Est., "Actas de la Suprema Junta de Estado," September 22, 1788.

91, p. 99. See *post*, note 119.

92, p. 101. See Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxiv.

93, p. 103. The *expediente* on the commerce of Louisiana was referred to Navarro for his advice. One of his reports is published as Document No. XII. For further information about Navarro, see *post*, note 95.

94, p. 103. Llaguno was the secretary of the Junta (and later of the Consejo) de Estado. When the youthful Manuel de Godoy supplanted Conde de Aranda as secretary of state, Llaguno was directed by the king to act as his personal adviser, and was shortly thereafter appointed Ministro de Gracia y Justicia.

95, p. 103. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, No. 3, copy certified by Martín Navarro. Document No. XI explains how Navarro was involved in the discussion of a new commercial system for Louisiana and Florida. In view of his long service in Louisiana, which extended over a period of twenty-two years, it is not surprising that he was consulted. His most important post was that of intendant (*intendente de Real Hacienda*), to which he was appointed on February 24, 1780 (*ibid.*, leg. 2606 *moderno*, draft of Navarro's *título*). His salary, originally 3000 pesos, was raised to 4000 pesos in 1783. His only superior in the province was the governor. His numerous despatches and memorials on a great variety of subjects show that he was an official of unusual liberality and breadth of vision. Some of his earlier recommendations in regard to the commerce of Louisiana are mentioned *ante*, in note 22; and he, together with Governor Miró, wrote the despatch transmitting James Wilkinson's first memorial (September, 1787) to the court. At his own request he was relieved of the intendency by a royal order of February 25, 1788, which retired him on half-pay with the rank of *intendente de Ejército* and permitted him to return to Spain (*ibid.*, draft, Valdés to Navarro). It was rumored that he had used his office to accumulate a tidy fortune, but proof is lacking and no formal charges seem to have been lodged against him. The court seemed well satisfied with his conduct, for on his return to Spain he was consulted in regard to other important matters besides the commerce of Louisiana and Florida and was entrusted with a mission to France and England (see Introduction, pp. xliii, xlv). Shortly after his return to Spain in 1790 he incurred the disfavor of the king. The nature of his supposed offense is not stated in the documents that the present writer has consulted, but it must have been rather grave, as it resulted in his banishment from court for two years. In March, 1793, he petitioned the king for appointment as *agregado del Consejo de Indias*. The official to whom his petition was referred reported very favorably, emphasizing Navarro's "sound ideas, practical knowledge of the commerce of Europe and America, and great activity and zeal" and affirming his innocence of the offense for which he had been banished; but Gardoqui reported

that the king had decided for the time being not to grant the request (*ibid.*, memorial by Navarro to the King, Aranjuez, March 21, 1793, and accompanying *extracto*). The date of Navarro's death is not certain, but it seems to have occurred in 1794.

A more detailed survey of the commerce of Louisiana and Florida is contained in a letter from Navarro to Valdés of January 15, 1789 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, copy certified by Navarro), but it is too long for publication in this volume.

96, p. 103. See Document No. IV.

97, p. 103. See *ante*, note 62.

98, p. 105. This mission is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xliii, xliv.

99, p. 107. See *ante*, note 95.

100, p. 107. See *ante*, note 95, and Introduction, p. xli.

101, p. 107. This remark shows the influence of James Wilkinson, whom Navarro had met at New Orleans in 1787. In order to frighten the Spanish government into accepting his proposals, Wilkinson exaggerated the menace of a successful British intrigue with the American frontiersmen. He was partially successful, for the specter haunted Spain throughout the next decade, and indeed the whole Spanish intrigue might be described as a measure designed to protect the Spanish dominions against British aggression through the American frontier.

102, p. 109. See *ante*, note 13.

103, p. 109. It is interesting to compare Navarro's discreet reservation on this point with the dogmatic assurance of Salcedo (Document No. X).

104, p. 111. This passage reflects the views of such statesmen as Campomanes and Jovellanos. The determined effort that was being made at this time to revive the economic life of Spain is described by G. Desdévies du Dezert, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 85-102.

105, p. 113. In October, 1791, more than a year after the completion of Navarro's mission and his return to Spain, Gardoqui wrote that little progress had been made in the execution of the project which, in his opinion, was one of the greatest importance. The reasons for the failure to follow up the project are indicated in the Introduction, p. xliv.

106, p. 115. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19. A brief account of Navarro's mission to France and England is given in the Introduction, pp. xliii, xliv.

107, p. 115. This is the autograph minute made on the despatch by Valdés. In accordance with this minute a note to Navarro was drawn up (*ibid.*, draft, dated Madrid, December 31, 1789). After informing him that his proposal to delay his return had been approved, Valdés continued: "Since England's system of commerce with its colonies may be of some use in shaping measures relating to our own, it will be well for you obtain information about it. The slave-trade [*Comercio de Negros*] which his Majesty has been pleased to permit by the cédula of February 28 of this year depends in large part not only on the maritime code of England but also on the local laws of its colonies [*Yslas*], in whose ports no foreign ships except those of small size are admitted."

108, p. 117. Navarro finally arrived at Lyon late in March, 1790, and went at once to St. Étienne, where he got the guns mentioned in the letter to Valdés. He arrived at Barcelona about April 16, 1790 (*ibid.*, Navarro to Valdés, Lyon, March 31, 1790; same to same, Barcelona, April 16, 1790).

109, p. 117. A.G.I., 87-3-19. Without date or signature, but with Gardoqui's rubric. The approximate date is fixed by Valdés's minute (see *post*, note 119), which is dated July 28, 1790. The wrapper of the document is indorsed: "(Gardoqui) Madrid 28 de Julio de 1790." There is no biography of Gardoqui, nor any notice of him in the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, which contains biographical sketches of many notable Spaniards. He was a member of the firm of Gardo-

qui and Sons of Bilbao, which, according to his statement in 1777, had had business dealings with the United States for thirty or forty years past and through which the Spanish government supplied the Americans with munitions during the Revolution. He acted as Grimaldi's interpreter at the time of Arthur Lee's brief visit to Spain in 1777, and in 1780 formally entered the government service under the patronage of Floridablanca, secretary of state for Foreign Affairs. As early as 1780 it was planned to send him to the United States, but for various reasons his appointment was delayed until 1784. Arriving in New York in 1785, he remained there until 1789, occupied chiefly with his fruitless negotiation with Jay, the suppression of contraband trade between the United States and the Spanish colonies, and the promotion of emigration of Roman Catholics to Louisiana and the separatist intrigue in the West. In 1789 he departed for Spain on leave of absence and never returned to the United States, as he was appointed in 1790 to the newly created post of Director of Colonial Commerce (*Director del Comercio de Indias*) in the department of Hacienda. He was empowered to act provisionally as minister of Hacienda in 1791 (A.H.N., Est., "Actas de la Suprema Junta de Estado," October 17, 1791). The appointment was made permanent on March 25, 1792 (A.H.N., Est., "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," April 10, 1792) and he held office until 1796, when he was appointed ambassador to Turin. Although his duties were manifold and burdensome (for instance, he was in charge of the negotiation with Carmichael and Short in 1793-1794), he found time to give careful attention to the commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas until that problem was solved temporarily by the royal order of 1793 (see Document No. XXIII).

110, p. 117. This passage seems to be a commentary on Navarro's statement in an *informe* addressed to Valdés that the smuggling trade between Louisiana and the rest of the Spanish colonies was negligible and could not be the cause of the decline of Spanish commerce in that part of the world (A.G.I., 87-3-19, Madrid, January 15, 1789).

111, p. 119. Among the numerous letters that might be cited to illustrate this point are the following: (1) Gardoqui to Ezpeleta (governor of Havana and captain general of Louisiana and the Floridas), New York, June 22, 1787 (A.H.N., Est., leg. 3893 *bis*, copy): ". . . Several ships from New Orleans with clearance papers for Guarico have arrived here recently on the frivolous pretext of a forced call. . . . The brazen impudence of their captains, the quantities of specie that they bring and the goods with which they return have obliged me to do all in my power to remedy the evils that they are causing. . . ." (2) Gardoqui to Floridablanca, New York, May 12, 1787 (*ibid.*, leg. 3893, Despatch No. 16, *res.*), giving information in regard to contraband trade between foreign nations, among them the United States, and the Spanish possessions in the Gulf region: "It pains me to see such abuses, for I know that these and others like them cause annually the loss of a balance of perhaps twenty million pesos that we pay to foreigners, and unless these evils are attacked the Spanish artisan will perish and we shall have neither agriculture, manufactures, ships, troops nor even credit, and that would be a great evil." (3) In another letter to Floridablanca (No. 193, New York, June 9, 1787: *ibid.*, leg. 3893 *bis*), Gardoqui complained that the smuggling trade between New Orleans and the United States was so extensive that it handicapped him in his negotiation with the United States.

This contraband trade seems to have been carried on mainly by way of the French West Indies, where it was legal for the ships of both Spain and the United States to trade and where emergency permits issued by the governor and intendant of Louisiana were, according to Gardoqui, sold publicly as if they had been bills of exchange (*ibid.*, Gardoqui to Miguel de Otamendi, no date, *ca.* 1787. Otamendi was an undersecretary in Floridablanca's office). Sometimes

ships sailing from New Orleans to the French West Indies turned up at ports of the United States as far north as New York, excusing themselves on the ground that they had been blown out of their course and forced to put in for repairs. In 1792, another device was tried. A certain Captain Wooster, who had been sent to Philadelphia by Governor Carondelet to stimulate emigration to Louisiana, offered to sell passports to New Orleans to anyone who would pay his price. This was five hundred dollars for ships of 100 to 140 tons, and five hundred and fifty dollars for ships of 140 to 170 tons. The purchaser must also agree to take fifteen or twenty persons to Louisiana at a stipulated rate. As Wooster even had the assurance to publish a notice to this effect in a coffee house at Philadelphia, it soon came to the attention of the Spanish *chargés*, who thereupon published a notice in a Philadelphia newspaper warning the public that Wooster had no authority to issue such passports.

Gardoqui's numerous representations on the subject of contraband trade were referred by Floridablanca to the minister of Hacienda, who contented himself with calling upon the colonial officials for reports. This matter, along with many others, was merged in the *expediente* on the commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas, which was not disposed of until 1793. By that time Spain was at war with France and was quite willing, as was usually the case in time of war, to wink at contraband trade with its colonies.

112, p. 119. *I.e.*, customs collector.

113, p. 119. It is at this point that Gardoqui's *informe* of 1790 differs most widely from his *informe* of the following year (see Document No. XVI), for in the latter he advised that the commerce of Louisiana and West Florida be thrown open to all nations with whom Spain had commercial treaties. See discussion of this subject in the Introduction, pp. xlv, xlvii.

114, p. 121. Probably the Don Manuel Quintano whose name is mentioned by Gardoqui in the same connection in his *informe* of 1791. See Document No. XVI.

115, p. 121. Gardoqui refers of course to the samples obtained by Martín Navarro. See Introduction, p. xlv, and *ante*, note 95.

116, p. 121. This suggestion was in line with other proposals made by Gardoqui to retaliate against duties imposed by the United States on articles imported from Spain and other foreign countries.

117, p. 121. This sentence probably helps to explain Gardoqui's rigorous treatment of Baron de Carondelet, governor and intendant of Louisiana, in 1793, when he removed Carondelet from the intendency without warning or explanation, humiliating a zealous servant of the king and reducing his pay from 6000 to 4000 pesos a year. The records show that Carondelet was not enforcing the commercial regulations, and Gardoqui, whose experience in the United States had convinced him of the venality of Carondelet's predecessors, Miró and Navarro, evidently assumed that the Baron was tarred with the same stick, and consequently dealt with him severely in accordance with the letter and spirit of this *informe* of 1790. Carondelet eventually succeeded in getting his salary restored to 6000 pesos a year, but the intendency was conferred upon Francisco de Rendón, former agent of Spain in the United States and secretary of legation under Gardoqui.

118, p. 123. See the summary of Maxent's representation (Document No. III) and the accompanying notes, especially *ante*, note 16; and Introduction, p. xxviii.

119, p. 123. This is an autograph minute appended to Gardoqui's *dictamen*. Antonio Valdés was one of the most influential men in Spain at this time. On the death of José de Gálvez (Marqués de Sonora) in 1787, he was appointed *ad interim* minister of War and Hacienda for the Colonies (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2317 B, "Decretos del Rey," *impreso*, July 8, 1787). This office he held until April 25, 1790, when the two colonial ministries were abolished and their func-

tions redistributed among the appropriate Spanish ministries. Valdés was then appointed minister of Marine for Spain and the Colonies, and the king ordered that he should also take charge of the foreign office (Ministerio de Estado) in case Floridablanca should be indisposed (A.H.N., Est., "Actas de la Suprema Junta de Estado," April 26, 1790). Since this reorganization was effected in April and since Gardoqui's first report was not disposed of until July, it would seem that it should have been handled by the new minister of Hacienda for Spain and the Colonies, Pedro de Lerena; but we may suppose that it was submitted to Valdés because he had until very recently been in charge of the ministry in which information on the subject had been assembled and was therefore more conversant with it than the new minister, Lerena. Valdés retained a commanding position at court until 1795, when vaulting ambition undid him. He was associated in that year with the Malaspina plot, a backstairs intrigue that had for its purpose the overthrow of Manuel de Godoy; and no less a person than Valdés was to take Godoy's place at the head of the ministry. The British ambassador, Bute, wrote of him in 1795: "Valdez is the most indolent being alive, allows the underlings to do what they please, never prepares a paper, never exerts himself in the least, except to thwart the Duke [Godoy] in the Cabinet, when . . . to prosecute the war comes under consideration." (B.P.R.O., F.O., 72/38, Bute to Grenville, Madrid, July 19, 1795, "Most secret and private.") Allowance must be made for Bute's resentment at Valdés's opposition to the continuance of the war. The appellation "Bailío" attached to the name of Valdés signifies that he was a knight commander of the Order of Malta or St. John. The title was sometimes given to subordinate governors in Castile who officiated in prisons.

120, p. 125. A.G.I., P.C., leg. 121, dated at Havana. The writer was Luis Fatio (see *post*, note 125).

121, p. 133. *I.e.*, Pantón, Leslie and Company.

122, p. 133. This rumor was circulated by Pantón's enemies, but I have found nothing in the sources, either Spanish or American, to indicate that there was any truth in it. It seemed to be rendered plausible by the negotiations between Pantón's intimate associate, Alexander McGillivray, and the United States, in 1790; but as a matter of fact Pantón opposed McGillivray's going to New York, and afterward labored earnestly and successfully to detach his associate from his American connection and to prevent the execution of the treaty. This matter is discussed in Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," *loc. cit.*, pp. 296-306.

123, p. 133. *Ibid.*, pp. 298, 299.

124, p. 135. According to a memorial written by various inhabitants of St. Augustine in 1794 (Document No. XXIV), Quesada soon fell as completely under the influence of Pantón, Leslie and Company as had his predecessor.

125, p. 139. Luis Fatio and his father, Francisco Felipe Fatio, are frequently mentioned in the despatches of the governors of East Florida at this time. In 1785, Governor Céspedes wrote that the father had been a zealous supporter of Spanish interests since the reoccupation of East Florida, and that both father and son had served Spain well (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-24, Céspedes to Conde de Gálvez, St. Augustine, February 28, 1785, No. 42, *de preferencia*).

126, p. 139. A.G.I., 87-3-19, "Dictamen de D^a Diego de Gardoqui para la formación del Reglam^{to} de Comercio p^a la Luisiana y Floridas. San Lorenzo 12 de Oct^{ro} de 1791. . . ."

127, p. 139. Gardoqui's report (*dictamen*) of 1790 (Document No. XIV).

128, p. 141. This *expediente* is in A.G.I., 87-3-19. It is accompanied by an *extracto* of which the first entry is dated April 17, 1788, the last June 10, 1790.

129, p. 143. Such a provision would have included Great Britain and France

and would have excluded the United States. See the discussion of this point in the Introduction, pp. xlv, xlv.

130, p. 143. This was contrary to the advice given by Gardoqui himself in his opinion of December, 1790 (Document XIV), and to the opinion of Martín Navarro, who declared that, while commerce between Louisiana and the other Spanish colonies should be prohibited, free intercourse between New Orleans and Havana must be maintained. Bernardo de Gálvez had made a similar recommendation. Gardoqui's opinion prevailed (see Document No. XXIII, Art. 19); but the governors and intendants were permitted to make exceptions, and as a matter of fact ships continued to sail from New Orleans to Havana and vice versa as freely after 1793 as before that date.

131, p. 145. This proposal is an interesting example of the influence of commerce upon administration. The project was seriously considered by the Spanish government for several years, and at the time that it was decided to conclude the treaty of San Lorenzo with the United States the king authorized the establishment of a *comandancia* of Louisiana and the Floridas whenever the chief minister, Godoy, should think it advisable. Such action was never taken, however, for it would have added to the already heavy expense of those provinces and the negotiation which ended in the retrocession of Louisiana to France began in 1796.

132, p. 151. The Suprema Junta de Estado authorized Gardoqui to draw up the ordinance (see Document No. XVII; and, for subsequent developments, Documents No. XIX, XX and XXII).

133, p. 151. A.H.N., Est., "Actas de la Suprema Junta de Estado," October 17, 1791.

134, p. 151. See Document No. XVI.

135, p. 151. See *ante*, note 109.

136, p. 151. See *ante*, note 128.

137, p. 153. This would seem to dispose of the assertion that the Floridas and Louisiana were a laboratory in which Spain was experimenting with liberal commercial regulations with a view to extending them later to the more valuable colonies. See Introduction, p. xxii.

138, p. 153. This suggestion probably came from Antonio Valdés, who as the minutes show was present at this meeting, for he renewed the suggestion in a *dictamen* of December 20, 1792 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19). He proposed that Corcubión (Galicia) be made the port of call in Spain, on the ground that its location would not take ships bound for Louisiana out of their way and that the arrangement would be of "some utility to that little town." Such a provision was incorporated in the royal order of 1793 but almost immediately suspended (see Document No. XXIII, Art. 1 and *post*, note 170). The proposal of a port of call at Spanish Santo Domingo was not adopted, perhaps because the United States did not have a commercial treaty with Spain.

139, p. 153. Gardoqui submitted the new ordinance (*reglamento*) more than a year later. He always moved slowly, and there seemed no occasion for haste in this case, since the cédula of 1782, which was granted for a period of ten years dating from the publication of the treaty of September 3, 1783, would remain in effect until the end of 1793. The draft of the new ordinance was submitted to the king by Gardoqui on November 7, 1792 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, Gardoqui to his Majesty, dated at San Lorenzo). The translation of his letter is as follows:

"On the advice of the Junta de Estado, your Majesty was pleased to approve my last *dictamen* on the commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas, in accordance with which the accompanying ordinance has been drawn up. The freedom of foreign commerce appears in it as a temporary measure and one opportune in the present situation of those colonies, but without losing sight of the establish-

ment of our exclusive commerce with them in the future. With this object, Spanish expeditions are favored as much as possible and burdens imposed upon those of foreigners. The proposed requirement that the latter call at Spanish ports would have raised serious difficulties without any compensating advantage. It was therefore omitted. To the list of ports habilitated for this commerce have been added those of Bilbao and San Sebastián, because few of all the ports of the Peninsula have as good opportunities for it as they; and no opportunity should be lost in this effort to encourage a commerce that has hitherto been so difficult for us. It only remains for your Majesty graciously to establish a captaincy general in those provinces in order to deprive them of all pretext for intercourse with the other provinces in America. Later on it will be well to adopt other measures that I shall propose to your Majesty for the encouragement of their commerce and settlement. If the latter increases as we have a right to expect, it will be the best barrier for the security and defense of the kingdom of Mexico."

For action on Gardoqui's draft, see Document No. XIX and notes.

140, p. 155. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 86-6-20, despatch No. 4. This was addressed to Lerena as Ministro de Hacienda. Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada took possession of the government of East Florida, as this despatch states, in July, 1790, succeeding Vicente Manuel de Céspedes. Quesada occupied this post until 1796, when he was succeeded by Enrique White.

141, p. 155. During the early part of his residence in the United States (1785-1789) Gardoqui had frequently coöperated with Governor Céspedes in obtaining provisions in New York and sending them to St. Augustine. As the result of his correspondence with Céspedes on this subject he was well informed about conditions in East Florida. Acting on the advice of José de Gálvez (the Marqués de Sonora), Floridablanca wrote Gardoqui on September 1, 1786, directing him to supply St. Augustine only in case of urgent necessity, since provisions could and should be obtained normally from Havana (A.H.N., Est., leg. 3886, exp. 7, Sonora to Floridablanca, Aranjuez, July 3, 1786; *ibid.*, Floridablanca to Gardoqui, September 1, 1786, No. 5, draft; and see *post*, note 142).

142, p. 155. This passage may refer to a letter written by Gardoqui to Floridablanca on March 13, 1786 (*ibid.*, leg. 3893, despatch No. 8, *res.*) in which Gardoqui said he could not see why St. Augustine could not be supplied from Europe; but this despatch could not have been used in support of Quesada's petition for "free trade," since Gardoqui concluded it with the advice that the American colonies be restricted to trade with Spain in Spanish ships.

143, p. 157. The enclosures are present with Quesada's despatch, but it does not seem necessary to add anything to Quesada's statement of their character and contents.

144, p. 161. Howard was sent to New York in 1790 to observe the conduct of Alexander McGillivray and keep him loyal to Spain (A. P. Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1789-1793," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V. 298, note 40). In 1797 he was sent on a reconnaissance of the upper Mississippi at a time when it seemed that a British invasion of Louisiana from Canada was imminent. He was later commanding officer of the Fixed Regiment of Louisiana.

145, p. 161. This was a meeting of the governor together with the military and treasury (*Hacienda*) officials of the province. It was customary for Spanish colonial governors (as also for viceroys, captains general, and intendants) to consult their subordinates in this way when important matters were under consideration. The chief was not bound by the advice of his subordinates, but the mere fact that he had consulted them protected him against the charge that he had acted precipitately or arbitrarily. The *junta de guerra* and the *junta de*

hacienda usually met separately; but sometimes, as in the present case, matters of common interest required them to meet together.

146, p. 163. A.G.I., 87-3-19. A copy of this document is found also in A.H.N., Est., "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," November 16, 1792.

147, p. 163. By "the foregoing *acuerdo*" is meant the decision of the Junta de Estado in its meeting of October 17, 1791 (see Document No. XVII). The reader will note the change of name from "Junta de Estado" to "Consejo de Estado." This involved more than a change of name, for, whereas the Junta was composed solely of the heads of departments, who were generally self-made men, progressive and at the same time highly responsive to the royal will, the Consejo contained, in addition to the heads of departments, grandees of Spain and dignitaries of the Church, notably the Archbishop of Toledo. It was in this sense a more representative body than the Junta; it was also less compact, less efficient, and less liberal than the Junta. The creation (or rather, the revival) of the Consejo on February 28, 1792 (A.H.N., Est., "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," April 10, 1792), was owing to the union of two forces: first, jealousy of Floridablanca, who was accused of establishing and maintaining the Junta in order to make himself the real ruler of Spain; and second, to the conservative reaction in Spain in the face of the French revolutionary menace. The Consejo had a brief existence, for, though not formally abolished, it seldom met after 1795.

For Gardoqui's appointment as Ministro de Hacienda, see *ante*, note 109.

148, p. 163. This draft, which Gardoqui called a *reglamento*, not a *cédula*, is in A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19. See the translation of his letter of transmission *ante*, in note 139.

149, p. 163. The opinion of Campomanes is of great interest, for, although less influential than some of his contemporaries, such as Aranda, Floridablanca, and Godoy, he was one of the most distinguished and most progressive figures in Spanish public life at the end of the eighteenth century. That such a man should have raised the objections recorded in this document is an indication of the great difficulties that stood in the way of reform of the Spanish commercial system. It is very much to Gardoqui's credit that on this occasion he proved himself more liberal than Campomanes. Even Gardoqui was a mercantilist. See *ante*, Introduction, and Manuel Colmeiro, *Historia de la Economía Política en España*, II. (Madrid, 1863), 356, 357, 373.

150, p. 163. This was done. See Documents Nos. XX and XXII.

151, p. 163. See *ante*, note 94.

152, p. 163. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19. This *dictamen* was written in consequence of the resolution of the Consejo de Estado of November 16, 1792 (Document No. XIX). Three members—Campomanes, Valdés and Bajamar—responded with written reports. Since preceding documents (XIV and XIX) have already indicated the ideas of Campomanes and Valdés on this subject, we have chosen Bajamar's report for publication in this place. It is also important because the writer was governor of the Consejo de Indias. It is not to be taken as an expression of reactionary opinion, for even Campomanes, of whose progressivism there can be no doubt, regarded Gardoqui's concessions to colonial commerce as excessive (see *ante*, note 149). The *dictamen* of Valdés (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-19, dated December 20, 1792) was in line with those of Campomanes and Bajamar, and proposed that the draft be amended in the interests of Spanish commerce.

153, p. 165. The allusion is to the rivalry of Spain and Portugal on the River Plate. One of the chief purposes of Spain in establishing the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (1776) was to suppress smuggling in that region.

154, p. 165. See *ante*, note 26.

155, p. 167. This refers to Gardoqui's report of 1791 (Document No. XVI) which was not a formal plan, but a statement of principles in accordance with which a plan should be drawn up.

156, p. 169. Bajamar doubtless means Gardoqui's first report of 1790 (Document No. XIV).

157, p. 169. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-22. The document here printed is the *extracto* or summary, prepared in Gardoqui's office, of two documents: (1) Despatch No. 22 from Governor Quesada to Gardoqui, dated St. Augustine, January 10, 1793, enclosing and supporting (2) a representation signed by thirty-seven inhabitants of St. Augustine, dated November 15, 1792. Both of these documents are well worth publishing, but in view of the design of this volume it was not possible to give the full text. The *extracto* or summary seems adequate for our purpose, and also shows Gardoqui's opinion of the representation and the governor's covering despatch. It was these documents that were responsible for the extension of the royal order of June 9, 1793, to East Florida (see *post*, note 168).

158, p. 171. Up to this point the marginal note is simply a very brief summary of the *extracto*; the rest of it, beginning "Remind the secretary," is Gardoqui's note directing the action to be taken.

158a, p. 171. Information contained in notes 89 and 157 *ante*, and 168 *post*, and Introduction, notes 43 and 44, makes the meaning of this elliptical passage clearer. The sense of it seems to be: "Remind the secretary of the Consejo de Estado of this, so that he may suggest to that body the desirability of a speedy decision in regard to the *expediente* on the commerce of East Florida, which is awaiting its action."

159, p. 171. See Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxix.

160, p. 173. That is, the office of the *Director del Comercio de Indias*, the post that Gardoqui held at the time referred to (1790). The present editor did not find the opinion (*dictamen*) in question, but its character can be inferred from the note itself and from the *dictamen* on the commerce of Louisiana that Gardoqui wrote the same year (Document No. XIV).

161, p. 173. The statement in regard to Negroes was probably inspired by Floridablanca's observation in 1790, during a discussion of confidential instructions to the governor of East Florida, to the effect that fugitive slaves should be discouraged from coming to that colony because of the bad example they might set (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-22, minutes of the proceedings of the Junta de Estado, May 10, 1790, signed by Eugenio de Llaguno).

162, p. 173. This is the date on which the abstract was made in Gardoqui's office.

163, p. 173. A.H.N., Est., bound volume, "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," May 3, 1793.

164, p. 175. This was the draft of an ordinance first presented to the Consejo on November 16, 1792, and then submitted to the members in turn (see Document No. XIX). The written opinion of Bajamar here referred to is published as Document No. XX.

165, p. 175. The war with France made it impossible to adopt the ordinance drafted by Gardoqui, which was predicated on an extensive commerce between France and Louisiana.

166, p. 175. This phrase would seem to show that the Consejo expected the privilege of trading with Louisiana and the Floridas to be extended to the United States, especially in view of the stipulation in the Junta de Estado of October 17, 1791, that "Americans" trading to these provinces be required to call at Spanish Santo Domingo (see Document No. XVII). If so, Gardoqui disregarded the instructions of the king and Consejo in this matter, for the order that he drew up opened the commerce of the colonies only to nations having

treaties of commerce with Spain (see Document No. XXII, Art. 1). His object in imposing this restriction was probably to facilitate Spain's negotiation with the United States (see *ante*, note 129).

167, p. 175. This sentence indicates some confusion or misapprehension on the part of the Consejo, for the commerce of West Florida stood at this time on the same footing as that of Louisiana, and the commerce of East Florida could hardly be said to stand on any footing at all. That is to say, the *cédula* of 1782 was still in effect in West Florida, and Spain had never issued any general regulation whatever in respect to the commerce of East Florida since its recovery in 1783. There had been a great deal of discussion of an ordinance for East Florida and on two occasions ordinances had actually been drafted, but for various reasons neither of the drafts was promulgated (see discussion of this subject in the Introduction, pp. xxxix, xl, and *post*, note 168).

168, p. 177. A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2353, Gardoqui to the Captain General of the Island of Cuba, Louisiana and the Floridas, copy, certified by Andrés López Armesto (secretary to the governor of Louisiana). This document was given the form of a royal order instead of an ordinance in order to emphasize its provisional character, which is clearly stated in the enacting clause. It will be noted that the order applied to East Florida as well as to West Florida and Louisiana. This was in consequence of a resolution of the Consejo de Estado of May 17, 1793, and this resolution in turn was taken in consequence of a representation from the inhabitants of East Florida (dated January 10, 1793) describing the miserable situation of the province and proposing as the sole remedy free trade with foreign nations (A.H.N., Est., "Actas del Supremo Consejo de Estado," May 17, 1793). The order was modified in several respects by a royal order of April 25, 1794 (see *post*, notes 170, 171, 172). Martin, *History of Louisiana*, pp. 260-262, gives a summary of the order of June 9, 1793. For the representation of January 10, 1793, from the inhabitants of East Florida, see Document No. XXI.

169, p. 177. See *ante*, note 166.

170, p. 177. This requirement was cancelled for the duration of the war by a royal order of April 25, 1794, communicated to the governor of Louisiana by Gardoqui in response to the governor's representation of December 15, 1793, enclosing a petition from the cabildo of New Orleans (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2317 B). The new order permitted foreign ships to sail directly from foreign ports to New Orleans without calling at Corcubión or Alicante. The war with France ended in 1795, and when Spain went to war with England in 1796 the intendant of Louisiana and West Florida revived the exemption from call at Corcubión and Alicante. His action was approved by the court (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2668 *moderno*, draft of royal order to the intendant *ad interim* of Louisiana, Madrid, July 4, 1797).

171, p. 177. This clause left unchanged the duty on exports from Louisiana, but more than doubled the duty on imports, which was fixed at six per cent by the *cédula* of 1782 (Document No. IV, Art. VII). Governor Carondelet and the cabildo of New Orleans petitioned the king for a reduction, but the royal order of April 25, 1794 (cited in the preceding note) refused the request. The reduction was granted by a royal order dated Aranjuez, April 2, 1797, but apparently not sent at that time, and certainly not received in Louisiana until January 8, 1802, when it was delivered to the intendant by a New Orleans merchant, one Joseph Tricou. This individual was interested in the order because it also related to the case of the good ship *Noah's Ark*, in which he and other merchants of the town were involved. The case originated in 1794, and after waiting anxiously through several years for a decision the merchants employed an attorney at Madrid to inquire into the reason for the delay in its settlement. The attorney

found in 1800 that the case had been settled in 1797 in his clients' favor; and suspecting that the fortunes of war, which had prevented the royal order from reaching Louisiana, might have the same effect again, he obtained a new order, dated April 10, 1800, repeating the former order, and sent it direct to his clients at New Orleans. It was well that he did so, for this was the first and apparently the only communication on the subject that the authorities in Louisiana ever received. (For further information in regard to the order of April 2, 1797, see *post*, note 173. The following are the most important documents relating to this case: A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2668 *moderno*, draft of a royal order to the governor of Louisiana, Aranjuez, April 2, 1797, and the enclosed slip of paper, on which there is a note beginning "No se dió curso á este oficio . . ."; *ibid.*, petition by Gabriel Dusser, Pedro Gaillard, and Pedro Comagere through their attorney, Felix de Larena Olmedo, Madrid, March 29, 1800; *ibid.*, draft of a royal order to the intendant *ad interim* of Louisiana, Aranjuez, April 10, 1800; and Document No. XXVI.

172, p. 177. The royal order of April 25, 1794 (cited *ante*, in note 170) explained that this six per cent duty was to be paid only when the Negroes were to be purchased in foreign colonies (*Islas extrangeras*), and did not diminish in any way the privileges granted in the royal order of January 24, 1792, which relieved the direct slave trade with Africa from the payment of this duty.

173, p. 177. In 1794, a ship named *Noah's Ark* was convicted of attempting to smuggle 46,560 pesos in specie out of Louisiana. In reporting the case to the court, the intendant, Rendón, begged the king to pardon the offenders and urged that the exportation of specie be permitted, declaring that otherwise the balance of trade could not be maintained. It was impossible, he said, to prevent its being smuggled out, and the king might as well get the benefit of a duty on its exportation at the same time that he conferred an inestimable benefit on the colony by legalizing a necessary practice (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2668 *moderno*, Rendón to Gardoqui, New Orleans, November 5, 1794, No. 2, *res.*). The royal order of April 2, 1797 (see *ante*, note 171) granted Rendón's request, imposing a six per cent duty on exportation. For the reasons indicated above (note 171), this order was not received in Louisiana until January 8, 1802, and even then the intendant, Morales, refused to enforce this part of the order (see Document No. XXVI).

174, p. 179. A list of the ports habilitated by the ordinance of 1778 is given *ante*, in note 4. By 1794, the ports of Vigo, Sanlúcar and El Grao de Valencia had been added (A.G.I., *Indiferente General*, 151-5-14, draft of an order to Antonio Ventura de Taranco, Aranjuez, March 6, 1794).

175, p. 179. A brief account of this important ordinance is given in the Introduction, pp. xxiii, xxiv. The *juez de arribadas* was a treasury official stationed in an open (habilitated) port, who gave licenses and passports and was entrusted with the inspection of ships (see Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, pp. 19, 33, 92).

176, p. 179. Antúnez states that the articles whose importation into the colonies was prohibited were slaves (unless their importation was specifically authorized by royal licenses, which were often granted); firearms; and "libros de romance que traten de materias profanas y fabulosas, y historias fingidas" (*Memorias Históricas*, Madrid, 1797, p. 134). Since the introduction of slaves into these provinces was already permitted, and since the colonists were notoriously un-literary, the practical effect of this clause was to legalize the importation of firearms. Even in this respect there was little novelty in the permission, for ever since 1785 the court had encouraged Pantón, Leslie and Company to import arms and ammunition into the Floridas for the use of the southern Indians.

177, p. 179. See *ante*, note 116.

178, p. 183. In the explanatory order of April 25, 1794 (see *ante*, note 170),

Gardoqui informed Governor Carondelet that the king had not granted the governor's request for an amplification of his discretionary power in such cases; but even so the authorities of Louisiana had no difficulty in finding "grave, urgent, and just" reasons for permitting frequent sailings to Havana and occasional sailings to other Spanish colonial ports.

179, p. 183. For definitions of these terms, see *ante*, notes 26 and 27. A similar exemption for a period of two years was granted by the *cédula* of 1782 (Document No. IV, Art. 20).

180, p. 183. Both before and after the adoption of the new tariff, the valuations for customs duties were on a moderate basis, often amounting to less than the six per cent prescribed by the royal order of 1793.

181, p. 185. A tariff on imports, submitted to the court by Intendant Rendón in 1795, was approved in May, 1796, and put into effect in September of the same year. A tariff on exports was submitted by Intendant Morales in 1797 and, after correspondence that resulted in a slight modification of it, approved by a royal order of February 15, 1800. (The foregoing note is based on an *extracto* of this correspondence, beginning with Rendón's despatch of October 10, 1795, No. 82, and ending with the royal order of February 15, 1800: A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2668 *moderno*.)

182, p. 185. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 86-7-9, No. 7, signed by Francisco Xavier Sánchez and twelve others. The representation was apparently ignored by the court for on its cover is the endorsement, "Una representacion . . . a la que no se ha dado curso"; this is repeated in an endorsement on the envelope, which adds, "y se ha entregado así al Archivo." Other charges against Pantón, Leslie and Company and the colonial officials who protected the firm met with similar treatment, for the Spanish government was aware of its dependence upon these merchants especially in time of war. See Introduction, p. xxxvi, and note 36 thereof. The representation is of interest mainly because it gives us the colonial, as opposed to the official, view of the Spanish commercial system in East Florida; and such expressions of opinion were decidedly rare in the Spanish colonies.

183, p. 187. Robert Leslie. Each of the principal members of the company seems to have resided regularly in one town and to have had immediate charge of the trade with the neighboring Indians. Leslie lived at St. Augustine and supervised the trade with the Seminoles; William Pantón lived at Pensacola, with occasional visits to St. Marks, which was under his direction, and supervised the trade with the Creek and Cherokee; and John Forbes, who established the short-lived store at Fort San Fernando (1795-1797), had his headquarters at Mobile and supervised the trade with the Choctaw and Chickasaw.

184, p. 195. In a description of the commerce of East Florida (Document No. XV) written in 1790 by Luis Fatio, a merchant of St. Augustine, Governor Quesada was said to have thrown the Indian trade open to all the colonists upon learning from the *contaduría* that Pantón, Leslie and Company had not been granted a monopoly of it; "but," continued Fatio, "for lack of goods to exchange, this commerce has not amounted to much."

185, p. 195. In this respect the governor was acting strictly in accordance with the orders of the king. The royal order of June 9, 1793 (Document No. XXIII, Art. 2), imposed a duty of fifteen per cent on foreign goods brought into Louisiana and the Floridas; but previous orders had given Pantón, Leslie and Company a special status in the Floridas, and one of these orders had specifically exempted the company from the payment of duties on goods imported into the Floridas for the Indian trade (see Introduction, p. xxxiv).

186, p. 197. This was José de Ortega, who later did draw up a scathing indictment of Pantón, Leslie and Company. See Introduction, note 36. It should be added that in 1796, in consequence of a complaint from Governor Quesada,

Captain General Las Casas investigated the conduct of Ortega. Casas reported that Ortega appeared to be headstrong and full of a sense of his own importance, since he was the only *letrado* (lawyer) in East Florida; that it would consequently be advisable to send him to a more populous colony, where there were other *letrados* and officials capable of keeping him in his place; and that, while Quesada's charges that Ortega meddled in matters that did not concern him and was not sufficiently respectful in his relations with the governor were justified, the court should not have been annoyed by Quesada with so petty an affair (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2565 *moderno*, Casas to Azanza, Havana, August 30, 1796, No. 636). That there was apparently no question of Ortega's ability and integrity gives added value to the *dictamen* of 1802; but its value can be determined precisely only by checking it with the customs records of East Florida—a task that the present editor has not been able to undertake.

187, p. 201. A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2343, letter-book of the intendant of Louisiana, fol. 128. A copy of this letter was enclosed in despatch No. 238 from Morales to Saavedra, dated July 31, 1798.

Juan Ventura Morales was at this time intendant *ad interim* of Louisiana and West Florida. He was born at Malaga, Spain, in 1756. After eight years' service in the Contaduría General de Tabaco of that city he went to Louisiana and in 1777 was appointed by Governor Gálvez *escribiente* in the office of the governor. When he wrote the letter to Clark published herewith, he was acting for the third time as intendant *ad interim*, the first two occasions being in 1784 and 1785. His third service in that capacity began on April 18, 1796, and continued until January 1, 1800, when he was relieved by the new intendant, Ramón de López y Angulo. On July 13, 1801, López y Angulo was removed from office and Morales again appointed intendant *ad interim*. After the cession of Louisiana to France and its transfer to the United States he remained at New Orleans two years winding up the affairs of the *Real Hacienda*. During this period his authority as intendant of West Florida was denied by the governor, Vicente Folch. On November 5, 1805, the captain general decided the controversy in favor of Morales, who moved to West Florida early in 1806. On October 24, 1811, the house containing the records of the intendency at Pensacola was burned, and Morales, charged with having had the house set on fire in order to destroy evidences of his misconduct, was suspended by an order of the Regency dated September 7, 1812. A long investigation ensued, the result of which was the exoneration of the intendant and a reprimand to the investigator. On June 18, 1817, Morales was appointed intendant of Puerto Rico, and the final report on the Pensacola affair, made in Madrid on June 14, 1819, cleared him of all the charges that had been made against him. Morales had an unusually tempestuous career even for a Spanish intendant and was engaged in countless and almost endless controversies with most of the officials of Louisiana and West Florida with whom he had any dealings. He was extremely unpopular with his associates as well as with the people of those provinces, but was held in high esteem by the court, which regarded him as a faithful watch-dog of the treasury. He is best known in United States history for his proclamation of October 16, 1802, closing the American deposit at New Orleans. (The biographical data here given were drawn from a large number of manuscript sources, of which the most important are the following: A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2616, *moderno*, Morales to Soler, October 15, 1799, No. 338, enclosing an imprint, "Relacion de los Meritos y Servicios de Don Juan Ventura Morales," dated Madrid, August 28, 1787; and *ibid.*, leg. 2617 *moderno*, *expediente* on despatch No. 120, October 30, 1816, from Alexandro Ramirez to the Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Indias.)

In March, 1798, Daniel Clark, Jr., had assumed the character of acting vice consul of the United States at the suggestion of Andrew Ellicott and Captain

Isaac Guion, and without authority from the United States government. As Morales's letter shows, the Spanish officials of Louisiana recognized him in that capacity, but they were later overruled by the captain general. Clark was a candidate for a regular appointment in 1798, but was unsuccessful. In 1801, Jefferson appointed him consul and he accepted. Like his predecessors, he failed to obtain official recognition, for the Spanish government stubbornly refused to make an exception to what was, as it maintained, a general rule, namely, that consular agents of foreign powers should not be admitted to its colonies. Clark was, however, permitted to perform most of the functions of his office, which he held until the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. He was a prosperous merchant at New Orleans, where he had established himself in 1786 under the protection of his uncle of the same name. He was one of the chief beneficiaries of the American deposit, opened in April, 1798, and presumably of the concessions which he was instrumental in obtaining from Morales in June of the same year and which are described in Document No. XXV (pp. 201, 203). His connection with James Wilkinson and the Burr conspiracy is well known. (For information regarding Clark, see *American Historical Review*, XXXIII. 801 *et seq.*, and article "Daniel Clark" in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. In a letter to Secretary of State Pickering of April 18, 1798, Clark discussed the memorial to Morales which he was then preparing; and in another letter of June 14, 1798, he reported the concessions made by the intendant: State Department, Consular Letters, New Orleans.)

188, p. 201. Daniel Clark. See *ante*, note 187.

189, p. 201. A copy of this was enclosed in despatch No. 238, Morales to Saavedra. See *ante*, note 187, and *post*, note 193.

190, p. 201. See *ante*, note 145.

191, p. 201. Copies of the merchants' representation and the statement of the governor (Gayoso de Lemos) are enclosed in despatch No. 238, Morales to Saavedra. See *ante*, note 187.

192, p. 201. Corporal attached to the customs service.

193, p. 201. Clark wrote in his letter of May 1: "There are only two points that I have to submit for your consideration. The first relates to the permission to transport in American ships either to their own or to foreign ports the products of the colony that it is lawful to export in national ships. The second consists in the exportation in national ships of all kinds of American products deposited at New Orleans, this to be done without the payment of duties as if the shipments were made in Spanish ships and with the privilege of sailing to any port with which commerce is permitted, except those belonging to Spain."

194, p. 203. Morales apparently meant all the American settlements on the waters of the Mississippi, although in practice the concession would benefit only Natchez, since there was virtually no exportation from New Orleans to any of the American settlements north of that point. One-way traffic still prevailed on the Mississippi owing to the difficulty and expense of ascending the river.

195, p. 203. This refers to the regulations for the American deposit drawn up by Morales in conference with the *Junta de Real Hacienda* on April 12, 1798, and described in despatch No. 237 from Morales to Saavedra, July 31, 1798 (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 2343).

196, p. 203. See *ante*, note 173, and Document No. XXVI.

197, p. 205. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-22. Miguel Cayetano Soler was the Ministro de Hacienda. See Document No. XXIX.

198, p. 205. See *ante*, note 173, and Introduction, p. xlix, for a brief account of this affair.

199, p. 205. The department of customs collections.

200, p. 207. East Florida Papers, Library of Congress, Box 105 A9, copy.

Enrique White was governor of East Florida from 1795 until his death in 1813. Diego Morphy was Spanish consul for the states of North and South Carolina and Georgia, residing at Charleston. There was also a vice consul, Manuel Rengil, residing at Savannah; and most of the commerce of East Florida was carried on with those two ports.

201, p. 207. Morphy's letter is in *ibid.* He quoted a passage from a letter which he had received from Foronda, dated May 12, 1804, as follows: "You must know that consuls can not authorize any foreigner to go to our colonies, nor even Spaniards if they do not come with a passport which authorizes them; unless there should be some powerful reason for doing so." See *ante*, Introduction, pp. li, lii.

202, p. 207. The royal order is Document No. XXIII. The decision of the *Junta* is discussed in the Introduction, p. li.

203, p. 209. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2665, *moderno*. Someruelos was captain general of the Floridas as well as of Cuba.

Vicente Folch y Juan was at this time commandant of Pensacola. Although he was not formally commissioned governor of West Florida, virtually all the powers of that office were conferred upon him by a royal order of September 16, 1803, which gave him the civil and military command (*mando*) of that province (*ibid.*, leg. 2599 *moderno*, Caballero to Soler, San Ildefonso, September 16, 1803). He has consequently been referred to in the text as "governor," the title that was generally used by his associates in referring to him.

Folch was born at Reus in Catalonia in 1755, and is described in his service record (*hoja de servicios*) as a noble. His commission as second lieutenant in the Spanish army was dated April 23, 1771. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1784 and captain in 1786, having served creditably at the siege of Melilla (Morocco) in 1774, in the expedition to Algiers in 1775, and at the blockade of Gibraltar in 1780. In the latter year he was sent to America in the army of Don Victorio de Nava, and at the end of the war was appointed commandant of Mobile through the influence of his uncle, Esteban Miró, then acting governor of Louisiana. In 1794, he made a reconnaissance of Tampa Bay. His appointment as commandant of Pensacola was made on September 22, 1795. His long and bitter dispute with Intendant Morales (see *ante*, note 187, and Introduction, pp. lv-lvii) was partly responsible for the loss of his post at Pensacola in 1811. Further information regarding his career in West Florida is contained in Cox, *op. cit.* (see Index), and Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (see Index). A copy of his service record through December, 1795, is contained in a petition by Folch dated September 1, 1801 (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2569, *moderno*).

204, p. 209. See *ante*, note 13.

205, p. 209. See Introduction, p. xxxviii.

206, p. 211. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2665, *moderno*, despatch No. 402. See Introduction, p. lvi.

207, p. 211. The "person" in this case was Governor Folch. For a brief account of Morales's dispute with him, see Introduction, pp. lv-lvii. See also Cox, *West Florida Controversy*, pp. 179-185.

208, p. 213. That is, the commandant of Mobile, who was also, in the absence of a regularly organized customs service under the intendant, authorized to act as the *subdelegado* or agent of the intendency. Joaquín de Osorno and Maximiliano de St. Maxent were in the order named the commandants of Mobile in the period 1803-1806. Morales, who said that they were both relatives of Folch, blamed them as well as the governor for permitting the Americans to navigate the Mobile River.

209, p. 213. Government storekeeper.

210, p. 213. The enclosures mentioned by Morales are too voluminous to be reproduced here, and their character is sufficiently indicated by the comments of Morales upon them.

211, p. 215. See Document No. XXV. This gives the date of the meeting of the Junta as June 11, 1798.

212, p. 215. See Document No. XXVI.

213, p. 217. A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2665, *moderno*, despatch No. 553.

214, p. 217. See *ante*, note 208.

215, p. 217. Governor Folch wrote Governor Claiborne of the Orleans Territory on February 11, 1808, asking a relaxation of the embargo in favor of the starving population of West Florida. The request was denied. Folch then contracted with the New Orleans merchants, Kenner and Henderson, to supply Pensacola with 1500 barrels of flour at twenty pesos a barrel. (A.G.I., P.C., leg. 1574, Folch to Someruelos, March 26, 1808, No. 87 *reservada*, and enclosures.) See Introduction, pp. lvii, lviii, and note 106 thereof.

216, p. 217. See Document No. XXIX.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

I. LICENSES GRANTED FOR THE SAILING OF VESSELS FROM ST. AUGUSTINE TO FOREIGN PORTS, 1787-1790.¹

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Ship</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Destination</i>
1787			
February 12	N.S. de las Angustias	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
March 8	Dos Hermanos	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
April 3	Sta. Isabel	Schooner	Island of Providence
April 13	San Pedro	Schooner	Guarico
April 26	N.S. de Betlen	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
May 5	N.S. de los Dolores	Brigantine	Port au Prince, S.D.
June 11	San Pedro	Schooner	New York
June 14	La María	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
June 16	Los Dos Hermanos	Schooner	Savannah, Ga.
July 20	La María	Schooner	Philadelphia
August 4	Los Dos Hermanos	Schooner	Cape Henry, Va. ²
August 4	Los Dos Hermanos	Schooner	Charleston, S.C. ³
August 4	La María	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
August 6	San Miguel	Schooner	St. Marys River
August 9	Sta. Isabel	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
August 9	N.S. del Carmen	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
September 4	San Pedro	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 3	San Juan	Sloop	Port of Sapelo, Ga.
1788			
January 3	Sta. María	Sloop	Island of Providence
January 11	La María	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
January 30	San Pedro	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
February 6	N.S. del Carmen	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
February 6	N.S. de Belen	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
February 22	Sta. María	Schooner	Nueva Luisa, E. Fla.
March 10	Condesa de Gálvez	Sloop	Nueva Luisa ⁴

¹ These tables were compiled under my supervision from shipping records in A.G.I., P.C., leg. 404, "Cuaderno para anotar las licencias concedidas por el Señor Gobernador y Capitán General de esta Plaza [San Agustín], a los Buques que desde este Puerto hacen viaje para los extrangeros. Años desde 1787 hasta 1790." The names of ships are given in the same form in which they occur in the Spanish records, with an occasional modernization of spelling (*e.g.*, "Isabel" for "Ysabel"). Destinations are given in the more familiar English forms, and, in cases that admit of no reasonable doubt, additional information is given. Thus, "Charlestown" in the Spanish records is here given as "Charleston, S.C." Doubtful cases are discussed in footnotes.

² The destination given in the records is "Cabo Chenery en Virginia."

³ There were apparently two ships by the name of "Los Dos Hermanos," since the names of the captains as well as the destinations are different.

⁴ Presumably in East Florida. See entry for February 22, 1788.

COMMERCIAL POLICY OF SPAIN

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Ship</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Destination</i>
1788 (con.)			
March 13	San Juan	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
April 14	San Miguel	Sloop	St. Johns River
April 14	N.S. del Carmen	Sloop	New York
June 17	Los Dos Hermanos	Schooner	Guarico
July 12	San Juan	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
July 24	San Miguel	Sloop	St. Johns River ⁵
August 14	La María	Brigantine	Philadelphia
August 20	San Pedro	Schooner	New York
August 20	La María	Schooner	New York
September 5	Condesa de Gálvez	Sloop	St. Johns River and New York
November 19	San Juan	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
November 24	Los Dos Hermanos	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 23	La María	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
1789			
January 10	Sta. María	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
January 23	Sta. Rosa	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
May 16	N.S. de la Concepción	Schooner	Island of Providence
June 15	Sta. Rosa	Sloop	Baltimore
June 21	Sta. María	Sloop	New York
July 7	Margarita	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
July 24	La Diana	Sloop	Philadelphia
August 3	La Concepción	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
1790			
February 1	La María	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
February 10	La Esperanza	Sloop	New York
March 2	Sta. Catalina	Sloop	New York
April 24	San Pedro	Schooner	Philadelphia
May 20	Sta. María	Sloop	Island of Providence
May 31	Sta. Cathalina	Sloop	New York
June 4	N.S. del Carmen	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
June 18	Sta. María	Sloop	New York
June 18	N.S. del Rosario	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
June 22	S. Josef y las Ánimas	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
July 6	Sta. Rosa	Sloop	Rhode Island
July 28	Sta. María	Sloop	Charleston
July 31	N.S. del Rosario	Sloop	Charleston
July 31	Sta. María	Sloop	New York
November 6	San Pedro	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 24	N.S. de la Concepción	Schooner	Island of Providence

⁵ The entry continues: “. . . and on August 13 it was given a passport to proceed from the said river to Charlestown [S.C.]”

II. LIST OF SAILINGS FROM ST. AUGUSTINE, 1793-1802.⁶

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Ship</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Destination</i>
1793			
November 18	Diana	Brigantine	Foreign colonies
November 29	La Fiel	Schooner	Nueva Barcelona, Caracas
December 10	Sta. Isabel	Sloop	Havana
December 14	La Clara	Schooner	Havana
1794			
January 4	San Pedro <i>alias</i> La Venus	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
January 7	N.S. de los Dolores	Schooner	Havana
January 23	La María	Sloop	Havana
February 24	N.S. de la Concepción	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
March 4	Macharavialla	Schooner	Havana
March 4	Dolores	Schooner	Havana
March 8	N.S. del Carmen	Schooner	Havana
March 15	La Mariana	Sloop	Havana
March 27	N.S. de Regla	Schooner	Savannah, Ga.
April 10	(blank)	"Bote"	Cumberland Island ⁷
June 16	Sta. Isabel	Sloop	Havana
August 20	Jesus María Josef	Schooner	Havana
October 24	N.S. del Carmen	Sloop	New York
October 24	San Pedro <i>alias</i> La María	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
October 31	San Josef y las Ánimas	Sloop	Havana
November 12	El Experimento	Sloop	United States of America
November 18	Horrieta [<i>sic</i>]	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
November 26	Sta. Rosa de Lima	Sloop	Havana
December 11	La Manuelita	Schooner	St. Johns River
1795			
January 15	Nancy	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
January 19	N.S. del Carmen	Sloop	Havana
January 23	La María	Sloop	Havana
January 27	San Josef y Ánimas	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
January 29	San Pedro y La María	Schooner	Havana
January 31	<i>La Suerte</i>	Schooner	Savannah, Ga.
February 21	Enrriet (<i>sic</i>)	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
March 11	<i>Ruthy</i>	Schooner	New York
March 24	Macharavialla	Schooner	Havana
March 26	Arriot	Sloop	St. John's River
July 6	<i>La Diana</i>	Sloop	Havana
August 22	Nanci	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.

⁶ This table was compiled under my supervision from port records in A.G.I., P.C., leg. 404, "Registros de Salida de buques en San Agustín de la Florida 1793-1802." For an explanation of the form in which this table is given, see Appendix I, note 1. Italicized names are those of ships described in the records as American. All others, with the exception noted (a Danish ship), were presumably Spanish.

⁷ The complete entry in the Spanish records is as follows: "Conduce generos desde el Rio de San Juan de esta Provincia a la Ysla de Cumberland."

COMMERCIAL POLICY OF SPAIN

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Ship</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Destination</i>
1795 (con.)			
September 14	Elisa	Schooner	Havana
November 13	La Floridana	Sloop	Havana
1796			
January 8	Nancy	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
January 12	Ester	Schooner	Havana
January 14	La María	Sloop	Havana
August 18	El Comercio	Brigantine	Havana
August 27	Sta. Rosa de Lima	Sloop	Havana
September 15	Cato	Schooner	Baltimore
October 1	Sta. Mónica	Government schooner	Havana
November 8	N.S. de la Concepción	Schooner	Havana
December 13	Saly	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
1797			
March 17	N.S. de la Concepción	Schooner	St. Johns River
April 19	Elija	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
May 13	Poly	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
May 26	Saly	Schooner	Havana
September 15	Masachuset	Schooner	New York
October 9	Betsey	Brigantine	Philadelphia
November 8	Concepción	Schooner	New York
November 27	Cato	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 5	Salé	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
December 13	El General Green	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
December 15	Sta. Rosa de Lima	Sloop	Havana
1798			
January 2	Sta. Rosa de Lima	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
February 3	El General Green	Sloop	Havana
September 6	La Esperanza	Bote	St. Johns River
September 25	El Tigre	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
October 19	<i>Marco Antonio</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 6	Floridana	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 7	<i>Saly</i>	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
November 14	Betsy	Brigantine	Philadelphia
November 19	Sta. Mónica	Schooner	Havana
November 27	Uxbridge	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
December 22	San Agustín	Brigantine	Havana
December 29	Linda	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
1799			
January 24	<i>Marco Antonio</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
March 11	Linda	Sloop	Havana
April 11	Concepción	Schooner	Havana
May 10	Poly	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
May 22	Sta. Mónica	Schooner	Havana
May 24	<i>Mary de Boston</i>	Schooner	New York
June 6	<i>El Deleite del Curtidor</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
June 20	<i>El Tigre</i>	Sloop	Havana, calling at St. Johns River
July 22	<i>Hope</i>	Brigantine	Charleston, S.C.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Ship</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Destination</i>
1799 (con.)			
August 13	<i>María</i>	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
September 13	<i>Betsey</i>	Brigantine	Charleston, S.C.
October 23	<i>La Industria</i>	Schooner	New York
November 18	<i>Sale</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 28	<i>Washington</i>	Schooner	Havana
December 14	<i>Chelsea</i>	Sloop	Havana
December 23	<i>Floridana</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.

1800

February 10	<i>Industria</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
February 17	<i>Unicornio</i>	Schooner	Havana
February 18	<i>Abigail</i>	Schooner	Havana
February 26	<i>Pelegrina</i>	Sloop	St. Johns River
March 3	<i>Betsy</i>	Sloop	New York
March 5	<i>Neptuno</i>	Schooner	New York
May 13	<i>Regulador</i>	Sloop	Havana
May 14	<i>Sale</i>	Sloop	Havana
May 23	<i>Sta. Rosa</i>	Sloop	Havana
August 7	<i>La María</i>	Schooner	St. Marys, Ga.
August 21	<i>Alegria</i>	Schooner	Havana
August 23	<i>Poly</i>	Schooner	Havana
October 3	<i>Sta. Catalina</i>	Schooner	New York
October 6	<i>Amelia</i>	Schooner	
		(Danish)	Savannah, Ga.
October 11	<i>Floridana</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 24	<i>Rangen</i> (Ranger?)	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
November 26	<i>Los Dos Hermanos</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 17	<i>Isabel y Ana</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 23	<i>Lady Washington</i>	Schooner	St. Marys, Ga.
December 30	<i>Kety</i>	Schooner	Savannah, Ga.

1801

January 2	<i>El Juan</i>	Sloop	Charleston, S.C., calling at St. Marys
January 8	<i>Good Intent</i>	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
January 16	<i>Mary</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
January 23	<i>N.S. de la Caridad</i>	Schooner	Havana
February 9	<i>Floridana</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
March 10	<i>Buena Intención</i>	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
March 20	<i>Fox</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
May 9	<i>Sta. Mónica</i>	Schooner	Havana
June 25	<i>El Juan</i>	Sloop	Puerto Sta. María ⁸
June 26	<i>Lady Washington</i>	Schooner	Savannah, Ga.
July 29	<i>Venus</i>	Schooner	Havana
September 12	<i>Endeavour</i>	Sloop	New York
September 30	<i>Betsey</i>	Schooner	St. Marys, Ga.
October 5	<i>Kety</i>	Schooner	New York
November 13	<i>Jane</i>	Schooner	St. Marys, Ga.
December 24	<i>Isabel y Ana</i>	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.

⁸ Probably St. Marys, Georgia, though the entry does not so state, as it does in other cases, e.g., September 30, 1801, the *Betsey*.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of Ship</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Destination</i>
1802			
January 5	Palomita	Sloop	Havana
January 20	Kety	Schooner	Wilmington (N.C.?)
February 1	Industria	Sloop	Havana
February 12	Saly	Schooner	St. Johns River
March 22	Amistad	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
April 8	Hope	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
May 26	Cristiana	Schooner	Kingston (Jamaica?)
June 26	Sta. Marta <i>alias</i> Elisa Ana	Schooner	Havana
September 1	Sta. Rosa de Lima	Sloop	New York
October 2	Nancy	Schooner	St. Johns River
October 15	Concepción	Schooner	Havana
October 18	La Hermosa Luisa	Sloop	Havana
November 2	Friendship	Sloop	Charleston, S.C.
November 18	Catalina	Schooner	Havana
November 24	Águila	Sloop	Savannah, Ga.
November 27	Fenix	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 1	Floridana	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 3	Sta. Mónica	Schooner	Havana
December 6	Washington	Schooner	Charleston, S.C.
December 14	María	Schooner	Havana
December 29	Solécita	Sloop	Norfolk, Va.

III. LIST OF PRINCIPAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM FOREIGN PORTS AT PENSACOLA, MOBILE AND ST. MARKS, 1797 AND 1798.⁹

A. 1797¹⁰

Imports at Pensacola and Mobile, 1797.

Bricks	10,000
Kettles, copper	155
Limburg, pieces	354½
Linsey, pieces	60
Shingles, large	26,000
Shingles, small	7,500
Vermilion, pounds	200
Wine, Bordeaux, in casks	84
Wine, Bordeaux, in boxes	40

⁹ The accompanying lists are extracted from reports of imports and exports to and from foreign ports transmitted to the Court by Intendant Morales (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., 87-3-22, Morales to the Marqués de las Hormazas, April 27, 1798, No. 222, enclosing report for 1797; *ibid.*, Morales to Soler, November 30, 1799, No. 347, enclosing report for 1798).

¹⁰ Importations for Mobile were made by way of Pensacola and New Orleans. Separate reports for Mobile are not available.

Exports at Pensacola, 1797.

Cotton, pounds	696
Cowhides	162
Logwood (palo de Campeche), pounds	24,328
Skins: beaver, pounds	712
Skins: deer, pounds	211,223 $\frac{1}{2}$
Skins: fox, pounds	174
Skins: otter, pounds	698
Skins: rat, pounds	540
Skins: wild cat, pounds	77
Skins: wolf, pounds	6

Exports at Mobile, 1797.

Skins: deer, pounds	133,000
Skins: fox, pounds	490
Skins: lynx (<i>tigre</i>), pounds	160
Skins: otter, pounds	902
Skins: wild cat, pounds	600
Skins: wolf, pounds	19

B. 1798¹¹

Imports at Pensacola, Mobile and St. Marks, 1798.

Bricks	2,000
Coffee, pounds	322
Limburg, bales	12
Linsey, bales	3
Linsey, sacks	6
Playing cards, dozens	6
Salt, barrels	250
Window glass, boxes	2
Wine, Bordeaux, casks	20
Wine, Bordeaux, boxes	10
Wine, white, barrels	6
Wine, white, pipes	2
Wine, Port, hogshead	1

Exports from Pensacola, Mobile and St. Marks, 1798.

Cowhides	684
Skins: beaver, pounds	20,840
Skins: deer, pounds	204,812

¹¹ A note at the end of the report for this year states that it includes imports and exports of Mobile and St. Marks ("Apalache") as well as Pensacola.

Skins: fox, pounds	690
Skins: otter, pounds	2,008
Skins: rat, pounds	1,747
Skins: squirrel, pounds	10
Skins: wild cat, pounds	255
Skins: wolf, pounds	13

IV. STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF PANTON, LESLIE AND COMPANY, 1804.¹²

<i>Item</i>	<i>Value</i> (Pesos fuertes)
2 ships at Pensacola and Mobile	24,000
1 brigantine at St. Augustine	7,000
2 small boats at Havana in West India trade	7,000
1 small boat for the three settlements [Pensacola, Mobile and St. Augustine]	1,000
Houses and lots at Pensacola	30,000
Houses and lots at St. Augustine	8,000
Houses and lots at Mobile	8,000
Slaves employed in beating, cleaning and packing hides: 30 at Pensacola, 30 at Mobile and 25 at St. August- tine, at 300 <i>duros</i> each	25,500
18 servants employed in different houses in the three settlements mentioned above	5,400
Draught-horses and yokes of oxen	900
Debts due the house from the four nations [Creek, Chero- kee, Choctaw and Chickasaw] without counting the articles on hand in its stores	140,000
Annual imports from Europe to Pensacola and Mobile	108,000
Annual imports from Europe to St. Augustine	20,000
Produce in the West Indies	12,000
Total	396,800¹³

¹² This list is a translation of a list appended to a description of West Florida by John Forbes. It was prepared for the Spanish minister in the United States, the Marqués de Casa Irujo, while Forbes was on a visit to that country, and was dated Georgetown, April 28, 1804. A Spanish translation of the document was sent to the Court by Irujo (A.G.I., Sto. Dom., leg. 2599, *moderno*, Irujo to Cevallos, Philadelphia, June 24, 1804, No. 426, copy).

¹³ The *peso fuerte* was worth one dollar in money of the United States.

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